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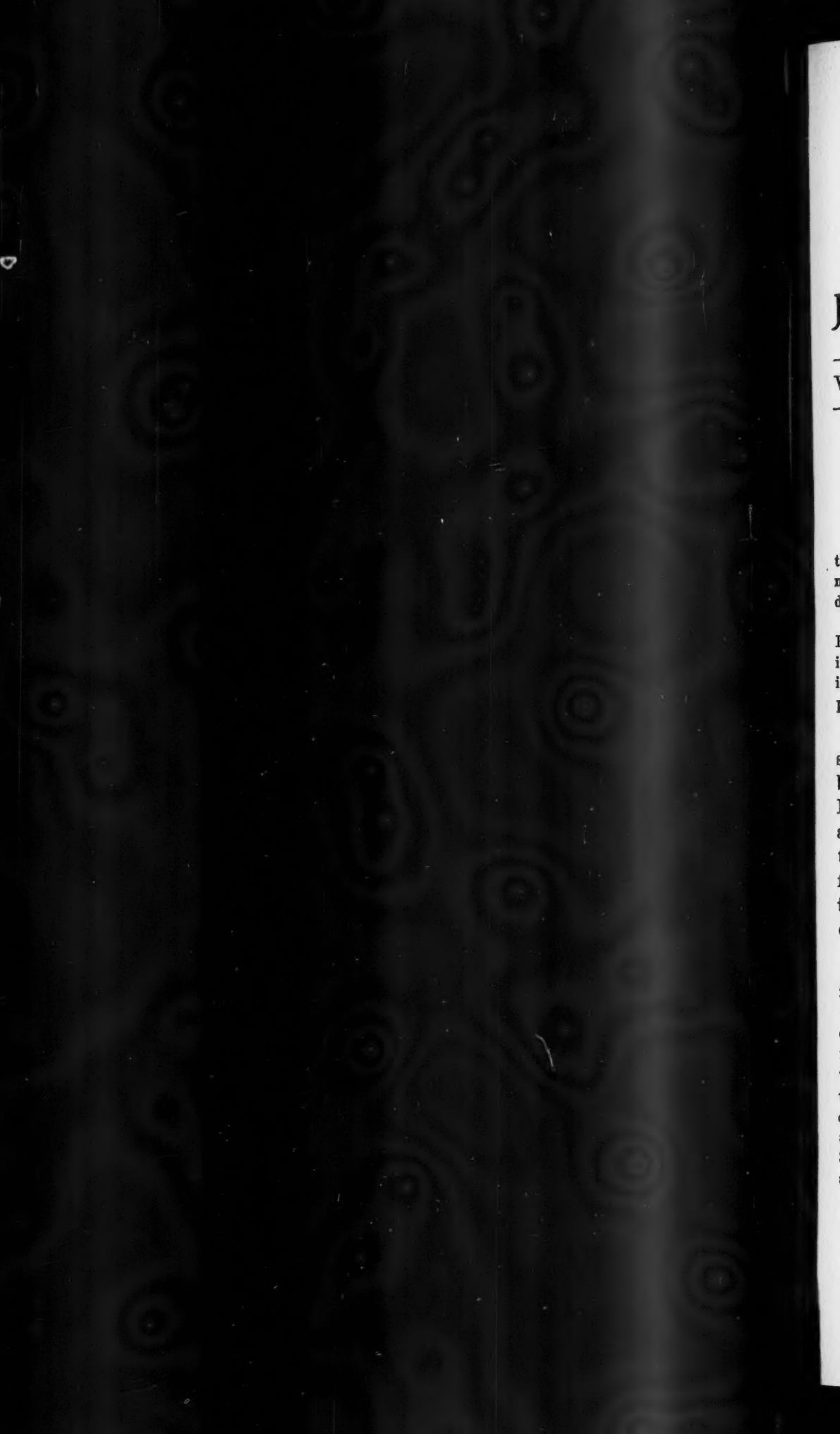
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THE CHARACTER OF CLYTEMNESTRA IN THE *CHOEPHOROE* AND THE *EUMENIDES* OF AESCHYLUS.

[In the *Choephoroe*, *Clytemnestra*, essentially the same character that was portrayed actively in the *Agamemnon*, is, by organic development of the trilogy, shown passively as *δύσθεος γυνή*, brought to her doom.

In the *Eumenides*, she is a disembodied wraith of vengeance, an Erinyes. By thus assimilating her to the chorus in this drama, which is an apocalyptic pageant of reconciliation, the poet resolves the trilogy into a contest between the chthonic powers of an earlier religious dispensation and the "younger" Olympian deities.]

The sole extant example of an ancient dramatic trilogy deserves more study than has heretofore been spent on the devices by which the major unity of the triple strand is maintained. Each of the dramas in the *Oresteia*, being a unit in itself, focuses attention on its organic structure, and probably the majesty of the first of the three obscures the perception of it as but the first act, such as the poet must have conceived it, and such as the first audience certainly first witnessed it. To study in some detail the character of the protagonist of the first play¹ as

¹ The character of Clytemnestra in the *Agamemnon* I studied in detail in a paper published, *Trans. A. P. A.*, vol. LX, pp. 136-154.

To the regret that Aristotle's treatise does not include a discussion of this trilogy must be added still further the regret that he does not indicate how a satyric postlude was related to its trilogy. A study of the major unity of the *Oresteia* would have to include a discussion of the probable theme of the *Proteus*, traditionally named as the satyric drama of this tetralogy. It is not a novel idea to point out how appropriately the scene, picturesquely narrated in the *Odyssey* (iv. 351 ff.), of Proteus soothsaying about Agamemnon's fate to Menelaus, among the seals on the Egyptian island of Pharos, might be adapted

carried over into the second and third is merely to make the first plunge into an examination of the problems of the major unity.

Cassandra's prophesying is the lyric centre of the *Agamemnon*. The question why the poet chose to introduce that character is answerable, not only in terms of the artistic value to that particular drama of conformity in this detail to the Homeric tradition, but also in terms of the structural purposes of the trilogy. Her prophetic madness links the tragedy of that play, through her retrospective visions, with the dark past of the Atreid family and, by her mystic discernment of the future, with the doom to come upon her murderers. In the *Choephoroe* her prophecy is fulfilled: man atones by death for man, woman for woman,²—Aegisthus for Agamemnon, Clytemnestra for Cassandra. And, further than this, the doom comes by express command of Cassandra's prophet-god, Apollo Loxias. That her prayers to him were not in vain is proved by the *Choephoroe*, of which the theme might well be denoted *The Vengeance Of Loxias*.

The only characters that are carried over from the first to the second play of the trilogy are Aegisthus and Clytemnestra. While Orestes is named in the *Agamemnon* in such manner that he must be expected as the avenger,³ Electra, whose part is vital to the second drama, is not even mentioned in the first. The subject of my present study is Clytemnestra, the protagonist of the *Agamemnon*, as characterized in the *Choephoroe* and the *Eumenides*. No major interest is directed to Aegisthus in the development of the trilogy.⁴ An insolent braggart in the first

to the afterpiece for the Atreid tragedies. The keynote may well have been struck in the *Agamemnon* when the Argive Elders solicitously inquire of the Herald how Menelaus has fared (*Ag.* 617 ff.) and in the prominence given in the *parodos* of that play to the idea of the *twain chieftains* of the Argive host against Troy.

² *Ag.* 1317-1320.

³ Cassandra prophesies Orestes as the avenger, but does not openly name him, *Ag.* 1280-1285; the chorus of the *Agamemnon* are explicit, *Ag.* 1667.

⁴ Aeschylus does not stress the plausibility of Aegisthus' self-justification in his crime as the son of the injured Thyestes. The motive is a subordinate detail in the dramatic pattern, belonging to Cassandra's visions (*Ag.* 1095-1099). Aegisthus' own brutal allusion to the horrible

play, he is essentially a weakling used as foil to the Queen's strength. His character contributes to the same purpose in the second drama, helping also to enlist sympathy for Orestes, whom the divinely enjoined duty of matricide makes a repellent personality.

I. CLYTEMNESTRA IN THE *Choephoroe*.

Clytemnestra appears in two scenes⁵ of the *Choephoroe*, briefly each time. In the first it is noteworthy that, although the disguised Orestes, knocking importunately at the gate, has called for Aegisthus,⁶ and, in asking to see some one in authority, has suggested the lord as preferable to the lady, since so he might speak without embarrassment, man to man,⁷ it is Clytemnestra whom the house-slave brings to greet him. The inference is that the cowardly consort habitually lies low when strangers are announced. Also the tragic irony is emphasized:—the son at the outset confronts his mother. The spectators might thrill to a sense of proper retribution when the three knocks of the avenger summon Aegisthus, but it is gruesome to see, face to face, the guilty mother and the "matricidal scion" of Cassandra's vision.⁸ The encounter does not daunt him. Clytemnestra offers to him and his companion⁹ all courtesy, but refers weighty matters that require sage deliberation to a masculine auditor. Her note is that of female modesty, stressed in the *Agamemnon*. Having heard his fabricated report of Orestes' death, she expresses bereavement with dignity, mourning the event as another blow from the inexorable ἀπά that persecutes the Atreid family,¹⁰

feud (*Ag.* 1580 ff.), coming from the man who had left chief part of the crime to the woman, makes the speaker despicable rather than pitiable.

⁵ *Choeph.* 668-718 and 885-930. The text which I have used in studying the *Choephoroe* and the *Eumenides* is that used in my earlier study of Clytemnestra in the *Agamemnon*, viz., the recension of A. Sidgwick, Oxford, 1902. I have also used freely Mr. Sidgwick's admirable annotated editions of the three plays, also Professor H. Weir Symth's excellent edition (Greek and English), *Loeb Classical Library*, 1926.

⁶ *Choeph.* 656.

⁷ *Choeph.* 664-667; cf. 734-736.

⁸ *Ag.* 1281.

⁹ Pylades is certainly with Orestes. He speaks in reply to Orestes' appeal, *Choeph.* 900. The reading of the MSS, 713, ξυνεμπόρους, is quite regularly altered by editors to a singular ξυνέμπορον. Cf. 561-564.

¹⁰ *Choeph.* 692.

but politely promises that, although messengers of sad tidings, the guests will nevertheless find sustained hospitality in the palace. She concludes with the statement that she will share the news with τοῖς κρατοῦσι δωμάτων and that, "not lacking friends, she will take counsel with reference to this misfortune."¹¹ How odd to tell a stranger that the rulers do not lack friends! The words may well indicate the contrary. By irony, and by reminiscence of the conclusion of the *Agamemnon*, they suggest in Clytemnestra and Aegisthus a lonely pair, buttressed by tyranny against the sentiments of the Argive state. She must regard the present crisis as serious, despite her own relief at the assurance that Agamemnon's son is dead. For, bereft of hope that the heir might return to re-establish the former dynasty, the intractables of the cowed state might now be exasperated to rebellion.¹²

The scene, short as it is, clearly shows the Queen as adequate to any situation, expected or unexpected, and flawless in dignity. That she comes at summons serves to show, as I have suggested, where the greater courage is in the usurping pair. The rulers must live under constant dread of vengeance, and the Queen's alarming dream¹³ has lately crystallized these forebodings. The contrast is implied,—that stressed in the *Agamemnon*,—between γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζον κέαρ and the weak Aegisthus,¹⁴ and it is heightened, here as there, by her feigned manner of womanly modesty.

The second appearance of Clytemnestra on the scene is as actual victim of her son's murderous plot. Made aware of danger, she calls immediately for an axe, to try the issue, "whether we be conquerors or conquered."¹⁵ At Orestes' en-

¹¹ *Choeph.* 716-718.

¹² Barring Agamemnon's successors, Aegisthus would presumably have the next right to the Argive throne. To accept a tyrant as a temporary usurper might be one thing; to see in him an established monarch, quite another,—provocative of revolution.

With reference to the question, inevitably arising in a discussion of the *Oresteia*, whether Aeschylus had in mind as the place of action Argos or Mycenae, see the convincing arguments in favor of the latter city by Professor C. P. Bill, *The Location of the Palace of the Atridae in Greek Tragedy*, *Trans. A. P. A.*, vol. LXI, pp. 111-129.

¹³ *Choeph.* 32 ff., 514 ff.

¹⁴ Aegisthus is scornfully termed woman, *Choeph.* 304-305. Cf. *Ag.* 1625.

¹⁵ *Choeph.* 890.

trance, her first cry is of affection for Aegisthus.¹⁶ Thenceforth she is a woman begging for life, or, more subtly, a mother fearful lest her son be stained with matricide. The crisp, short dialogue has been cited as an example, incongruous under the situation, of Athenian delight in argument. I cannot feel it thus. To me there is poignancy in Orestes' halting to answer her and to justify himself. Clytemnestra repeats her plea, made in the *Agamemnon*, that Fate (*Moira*) had responsibility in her crime.¹⁷ And her supple pleading with Agamemnon's son is reminiscent of her wheedling that King to walk, contrary to his better judgment, on her spread tapestries. Orestes, earlier in the drama, had steeled himself against the probability of his mother's use of cajolery.¹⁸ An enigma regarding her character which the poet deliberately left unsolved in the *Agamemnon* is unriddled in this second drama, where its solution contributes to dramatic effect. Clytemnestra has actually loved Aegisthus. Her *liaison* with him was not due only to her ambition and her hatred of her husband. Orestes sharply replies to her solicitude for the slain man: φιλεῖς τὸν ἄνδρα; τοιγὰρ ἐν ταύτῳ τάφῳ κείσει. More than that, in the conclusion of this distich he brands her a wanton: θανόντα δ' οὔτι μὴ προδῶς ποτε.¹⁹ And further, touching that other question raised in the *Agamemnon*, regarding the reality of her maternal affection, he refers to his exile, which she had alleged to be for purposes of protecting him from possible mob violence at home,²⁰ as a disgraceful sale of one free born.²¹ His words here echo Electra's earlier accusation of their mother: πεπραμένοι γὰρ νῦν γέ πως ἀλώμεθα | πρὸς τῆς τεκούσης, ἄνδρα δ' ἀντηλλάξατο | Αἰγισθον, ὅσπερ σοῦ φόνου μεταίτιος.²² To the Queen's query, put to Orestes: "At what price?" his answer is: "I am ashamed to name this plainly."²³ She does not deny the

¹⁶ *Choeph.* 893.

¹⁷ *Choeph.* 910.

¹⁸ *Choeph.* 420-422. Professor Smyth assigns these lines to Electra. His distribution of parts, as between Orestes and Electra, 380-422, is exactly opposite to that of Mr. Sidgwick. See his note, 380.

¹⁹ *Choeph.* 894-895.

²⁰ *Ag.* 877 ff.

²¹ *Choeph.* 915.

²² *Choeph.* 132-134. πεπραμένοι (132), Casaubon's emendation for πεπραγμένοι of M, is generally accepted.

²³ *Choeph.* 916-917.

implication, that a paramour's love was the price for the "sale" of a son, but, retorting, asks him: What of his father's similar follies? ²⁴ But it is not so much impressive that thus she justifies herself exactly as she had done in the first play, on the score of Agamemnon's conjugal infidelity, as that here she accepts the charge of wantonness,—indeed, coarsely defends it.²⁵ In this acknowledgment of erotic weakness there is a trait prominent in the *Agamemnon*, the balefulness of the susceptible and fatally seductive Tyndarid.²⁶

The Queen's character is revealed indirectly in various ways throughout the *Choephoroe*. Conspicuous among these, as a special device, is the introduction of the Nurse who tended Orestes in his babyhood. This scene,²⁷ the second half of the Third Episode, is the complement to that in which Clytemnestra appeared in person to welcome Orestes and Pylades. The Queen and her guests have withdrawn, and, after a short choric song, the old woman-slave enters, with orders from the Mistress to bid Master come with attendants to the interview with the strangers. Like the Watchman of the prologue to the *Agamemnon*, she is a comic figure, but here, as there, the homeliness of the individual makes more convincing the naïve innuendoes against Clytemnestra. They are the unprompted mutterings of homespun honesty, which show the Queen as detested in her household and which brand her explicitly as hypocrite in her manifestation of grief for the dead son. Moreover, in the babblings of old Cilissa's reminiscences of her nursling, a picture of sincere mourning is set in contrast to that, just witnessed, of the mother's dissembling. Cilissa adds pathos to the little

²⁴ *Choeph.* 918.

²⁵ *Choeph.* 920.

²⁶ See my study of the character of Clytemnestra in the *Agamemnon*, cited above (note 1), *T. A. P. A.* vol. LX, on this detail, pp. 151-154. I am glad to state here a fact which I omitted there. Mr. Sidgwick, in his Introduction to his annotated text of the *Choephoroi*, p. x (Oxford, 1900), remarks that Stesichorus of Himera, on the authority of an earlier lyric poet, accounts for her relation to Aegisthus by a curse imposed in anger by Aphrodite on Tyndareus, by which his three daughters—Helen, Timandra, Clytemnestra—were conjugally unfaithful.

Euripides possibly is suggesting the Tyndarid glamour in introducing Castor and Polydeuces at the end of his *Electra*.

²⁷ *Choeph.* 734-782.

whiff of comedy which her entrance brings. The audience is meant to suspect that Clytemnestra is as false in her motherhood as she was in her wifehood when she welcomed Agamemnon with soft words.

Another servant, whose horror at the death of Aegisthus and solicitude to summon aid suggest partisanship with the usurpers, also reveals dislike of Clytemnestra. "Her neck next," is the gist of his homely phrasing, "and justly so."²⁸

Up to the time of her murder, the case against her as *δύσθεος γυνή*²⁹ is made heavy. The poet's art is concerned with swinging sympathy toward Orestes so that deliberate matricide will be a believable crime. To the indirect strokes which contribute effectively to the dark portrait of her in the *Choephoroe* belongs the sustained hatred expressed by the chorus.³⁰ The women of this play, as well as the Elders of the preceding, would be at one with John Knox in deploring the "monstrous regimen of a woman."³¹ But it is not only to Clytemnestra's unwomanly masterfulness that they object. Their aversion is rooted in the thought of her as an impious criminal. As defined in the *Agamemnon*, she is to their view *χώρας μίαισμα καὶ θεῶν ἐγγχωρίων*.³² The action of the second drama turns on the idea that her libation, of which they are bearers, sent by her in response to the ominous dream as a belated appeasement to the shade of Agamemnon, is, of sheer necessity, ritually and ethically, unacceptable. As soon as Orestes is recognized in the stranger who has miraculously arrived at the moment of this offering, the women of the chorus enter actively into his plot to kill the Rulers.³³ To make the ambush against Aegisthus more certain of success, they persuade old Cilissa to alter the message from the Queen so that the Consort may go without attendants to meet the strangers.³⁴ The first *stasimon*³⁵ has for theme the

²⁸ *Choeph.* 883-884.

²⁹ *Choeph.* 46, 525. (Cf. 191.) It is rather interesting to note that Aegisthus uses the epithet (*δύσθεος*) of Atreus, *Ag.* 1590-1591.

³⁰ *Choeph. passim.* Note especially 386-392.

³¹ *Choeph.* 629-630. See my study of Clytemnestra in the *Agamemnon*, *op. cit.* pp. 140-141.

³² *Ag.* 1644-1645. Study of Clytemnestra in the *Agamemnon*, *op. cit.* p. 146.

³³ *Choeph.* 264 ff.

³⁴ *Choeph.* 766-782.

³⁵ *Choeph.* 585-652. A double theme is stated, 594-598, of which the

domestic horrors wrought by eroticism in women. Althaea, Scylla, the Lemnian murderesses, and—unnamed—Clytemnestra:—these are the examples of *θηλυκρατής ἀπέρωτος ἔρως*.³⁶ The song impales Clytemnestra by implication as slave to the fascination of Aegisthus. In the terms of my idea earlier expressed, she is in this lyric interpreted as the *Tyndarid*, a fatal woman. It is to be noted, as important to the artistic effect of the tragedy, that this song has scarcely ceased when Orestes knocks and, very soon, Clytemnestra comes to meet that summons.

Aeschylus named this play *The Libation-Bearers*. The drama is, quite literally, concerned with the awful effects of offering an impious libation. The bearers, hostile to the sender, instruct Electra in ritual words which devote it actually to the destruction of that sender. The results of that curse which rests upon Clytemnestra as the miasma of the Argive state, making her incapable of participating in religious rites of the country, might be "rationalized" in ordinary human statement thus:—because she is dominated by her weak paramour, she has been unable to hold in leash his tyrannical insolence and therefore has reaped with him hatred from her children, her household, and the state. To identify Clytemnestra's motives with those of Aegisthus is skilfully to direct toward her all the hatred which the inmates of the palace might feel toward him. As I have indicated, the idea of matricide is thus relieved of some of its intolerable horror in that portion of the play where it is necessary to keep the sympathy of the spectators with Orestes. The sole appearance of the braggart usurper on the scene³⁷ shows him as a hypocrite in expressing grief at the report of the heir's death and a boaster in speaking contemptuously of the timorous credulity of women. His entrance is set between lyric cries of hatred, the second and third *stasima*.³⁸

first part is *ὑπέρτολμον ἀνδρὸς φρόνημα*. But the stress throughout the *stasimon* is on that of the second part, namely, that which I have quoted above in the text of my study. Psychologically, the two would belong together in a masterful individuality like Clytemnestra's.

³⁶ *Choeph.* 599-600.

³⁷ *Choeph.* 838-854.

³⁸ *Stas.* II, 783-837; *Stas.* III, 855-868. Or might one better call lines 855-868 not a *stasimon*, with Mr. Sidgwick, but a lyric interlude, comparable to the "short choric song," 719-729, which separates the exhibition of Clytemnestra's bereavement from that of old Cilissa?

The Scholiast's conjecture³⁹ that the chorus is composed of Trojan captives might well be defended by the idea of vengeance for Cassandra as the prime motive behind the drama. The chorus speak of themselves as captives;⁴⁰ Electra addresses them as women house-servants;⁴¹ they refer to their ritual as Asiatic in type.⁴² The echoes of the Trojan War are numerous in the *Agamemnon*,⁴³ which takes title from the conqueror of Troy and has for protagonist Helen's sister. In the *Choephoroe*, the chorus, just before the slaying of Clytemnestra, find moral reassurance in the idea of just retribution, stating three grand examples of heaven's justice: on the Priamidae, on Agamemnon, on the murderers of Agamemnon.⁴⁴ It is significant, I think, that they thus relate the Atreid tragedies to the doom of Troy, and the fact, fitting well in the scheme of major unity for the trilogy, may, without undue pressure, be made an argument for the Trojan ancestry of these women. Proponents of the opposite theory might, indeed, point out that in these choric lines solicitude for the welfare of "master's house" is prominent⁴⁵ and urge this as an incongruous emotion in persons who had become property of this house by mischance of war. But the *stasimon* is celebrating the relief of the household from recent oppressive tyranny. Naturally then, the co-partners of Electra's wrongs would identify their interests with those of the rightful dynasts. It should be remembered also that Cassandra, as a captive, was not hostile to *Agamemnon*. She suffered a travail of prophecy in foretelling his fate,⁴⁶ checking herself to wonder why Priam's daughter mourned the doom of the Argive leader.⁴⁷ It seems

³⁹ Schol., *Choeph.* 75.

⁴⁰ *Choeph.* 75-77.

⁴¹ *Choeph.* 84.

⁴² *Choeph.* 423-428.

⁴³ Note especially the famous *parodos*, *Ag.* 40 ff.; first *stasimon*, 355 ff., of which the theme is *Iliupersis* as a judgment on the sin of Paris; second *stasimon*, 681 ff., devoted to destructive Helen; third *stasimon*, 975 ff., filled with forebodings for those just returned from Troy; the choric anapaests, 1331-1342, preluding Agamemnon's murder and extolling him as Troy's captor. Cassandra herself in this play is a piteous type of the woes of *Iliupersis*.

⁴⁴ *Choeph. Stas.* IV, 935-972.

⁴⁵ Note especially *Choeph.* 942-945.

⁴⁶ *Ag.* 1256 ff.; cf. 1223-1241, also 1100 ff.

⁴⁷ *Ag.* 1286-1290.

to me that, just as the Elders of the *Agamemnon* reflect the outraged majesty of the state, so the Women who bear the Libation in the second drama reflect, not only the neglected Princess who shares their religious errand, but also their compatriot Princess, whom Loxias now is about to avenge. Their exultation after the accomplished retribution,⁴⁸ although marked by womanly shrinking from bloodshed, chimes appropriately with the fulfilment of the prophecy that a woman shall die for a woman—more poignantly from the lips of Trojans than from those of women of another nation. Shortly before the end of the play, they gravely commend Orestes for his deed.⁴⁹ As the Argive Elders predicted, Clytemnestra, bereft of friends, has paid, blow for blow.⁵⁰ The Argive state is free from the tyranny of "two serpents."

It is odd, indeed, that Electra is not even mentioned in the *Agamemnon*. Is this omission deliberately intended by Aeschylus to cast doubt on Clytemnestra's maternal solicitude, there expressed for Iphigenia and Orestes? Plainly in his trilogy there is thought of but three children of the union of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra:—Iphigenia, Electra, Orestes.⁵¹ Since he must have had in mind that the other daughter was to be prominent in the second play, may not silence about her in the first convey the idea that she has small place in her mother's affection? At all events, her character emerges in startling relief in the *Choephoroe*. She, the neglected and despised daughter, is here a major indictment against Clytemnestra and, as such, is a source for the indirectly drawn portrait of the latter.

The accusation against the "Rulers" with respect to Electra is not of actual abuse, but rather of callous neglect. Sophocles and Euripides chose to give different emphasis. I find Aeschylus' conception in this detail consonant with my interpretation of his delineation of Clytemnestra as not all hypocrite in her maternity. Ambition and eroticism have bred the habit of negligence of maternal ties. It is not a necessary inference that

⁴⁸ *Choeph.* 931-934 and the *stasimon* immediately following, 935-972.

⁴⁹ *Choeph.* 1044-1047.

⁵⁰ *Ag.* 1429-1430.

⁵¹ Note especially *Choeph.* 235-245. The children of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra mentioned in the *Iliad* (IX, 144-145) are Chrysothemis, Laodice, and Iphianassa. Sophocles uses Chrysothemis as a foil to Electra.

Clytemnestra has never loved her children.⁵² Aeschylus' drama is not an *Electra*. Orestes is here the active avenger, in purpose as well as deed. Of the three extant dramatic versions, his gives the simplest presentation of the probable state of things within that Argive household. Every murderer, from the beginning of time, has had to get on as best he might after his deed. Apart from the idea of religious sanctions, just how would a mother,—lacking the motive behind the Cenci murder,—treat, after the event, the daughter of the slain husband? Usurpers are generally under necessity to rule by tyranny. Without imputation of physical abuse, Aeschylus knows how to make Electra's attitude toward her mother pathetically plausible.

It is of religious significance, important to the poet's whole plan for his trilogy, that Electra is, literally, the only person in the palace who, being of Agamemnon's blood, pure of fault toward him, and ritually clean, can pour libation at his tomb.⁵³ Her quandary⁵⁴ is to choose words which can conceivably speed such a libation. To say, "These from a dear wife to a dear husband," or to pray that the dead requite the gift—either seems monstrous under the circumstances. Or shall she pour in silence, "as Father died"? She identifies her feeling with that of the women of the chorus in the line, *κοινὸν γὰρ ἔχθος ἐν δόμοις νομίζομεν*,⁵⁵ and in prayer to her father refers to her humiliation in the household, *καγὼ μὲν ἀντίδουλος*,⁵⁶ having just before cited Orestes' exile as the price paid⁵⁷ by their mother for the mating with Aegisthus. The coryphaeus has counseled her to mention, while she pours the libation, as persons friendly to the dead man, herself and "whoever hates Aegisthus."⁵⁸ Supplicating her father, she adds to a petition for the return of Orestes one for a boon to herself: that she may be more chaste and more pious of hand than her mother.⁵⁹ A little later she characterizes that parent as a godless travesty of motherhood.⁶⁰ In the passionate

⁵² Note Orestes' words of his mother, *Choeph.* 999-1001. (These lines are numbered 991-993 in Professor Smyth's text.) Cf. *Ag.* 886.

⁵³ Electra appears in the *Choephoroe*, 84-560.

⁵⁴ *Choeph.* 87-100.

⁵⁵ *Choeph.* 101.

⁵⁶ *Choeph.* 135. Cf. 445, *ἄτιμος, οὐδὲν ἀξία*.

⁵⁷ See above, note 22.

⁵⁸ *Choeph.* 111.

⁵⁹ *Choeph.* 138-141.

⁶⁰ *Choeph.* 190-191, *ἐμὴ δὲ μήτηρ, οὐδαμῶς ἐπώνυμον | φρόνημα παισὶ δύσθεον πεπαμένη*.

excitement of her recognition of Orestes, her hate for Clytemnestra is openly expressed. In the midst of that yearning cry to the brother who must for her fill the place of all kindred,—dead father, dead sister, impious mother,—she declares the awful truth: ἡ δὲ πανδίκως ἐχθαίρεται.⁶¹ In the *kommos*,⁶² which she and Orestes share with the chorus, her antagonism to Clytemnestra flares. This powerful section of the drama is a lyric prayer addressed, with clearly defined purpose, although with intervals of shrinking from the idea of its awful purport, to the murdered King, associated with Olympian and chthonic deities, to take vengeance on his murderers. Here is the grimmest of all the details by which Clytemnestra's portrait is indirectly drawn, namely, the account, given by Electra and the chorus jointly to Orestes, of the dishonoring burial of Agamemnon.⁶³ Not only were fitting rites omitted, while Electra was locked in her room to prevent her from public manifestation of proper grief, but the body was mutilated. To Greek religious thought, the negligence of certain funeral ceremonies did an actual injury to the dead man. Even more terrible in this instance would have been the further physical insult to the corpse, designed, as usually interpreted, to cripple the shade. Gruesomely, indeed, the triumphant Clytemnestra of the *Agamemnon* had fulfilled her exultant promise: πρὸς ἡμῶν | κάππεσε, κάτθανε, καὶ καταθάψομεν | οὐχ ὑπὸ κλαυθμῶν τῶν ἐξ οἴκων.⁶⁴

In the perpetration of the two retributive murders Electra takes no part, although she has prayed to kill Aegisthus.⁶⁵ Orestes assumes the full burden of action.⁶⁶ But son and daughter together, by their prayer to their father, have necessarily doomed their mother. An appeal to supernatural powers must be effective. Orestes, brought up away from home and under a current social notion of the filial duty of vendetta, which, by the oracle of Apollo, has in his case been exalted to a definite command, might perform the horrible act of matricide as an abstraction. That Electra, reared in household touch with her mother, is ready to have it done is a terrible indictment of Clytemnestra, more starkly impressive because the poet has not labored to make the motive "reasonable" by fullness of detail

⁶¹ *Choeph.* 241.

⁶² *Choeph.* 306-478.

⁶³ *Choeph.* 430-450.

⁶⁴ *Ag.* 1552-1554.

⁶⁵ *Choeph.* 481-482.

⁶⁶ *Choeph.* 554 ff.

regarding abusive treatment meted out to the daughter. Masterful, seductive, revengeful,—such in epitome was the Clytemnestra drawn in the *Agamemnon*. The second play does not show her changed in these respects. But here Aeschylus adds the impression that through inevitable development, as a sequence to her crime, she has become *hateful*. She is, ethically as well as ritually, *δύσθεος γυνή*.

The title of the play is itself an important detail of the major unity. The drama devoted to the retribution visited on Clytemnestra as a person under religious curse takes its name from the innocent bearers of her impious libation. That offering literally becomes a chthonic force directed against her as hatred incarnate in the persons of its bearers, presumably Cassandra's compatriots, and in the persons of the two who dedicate it, the sender's own children.

When this *δύσθεος γυνή* is about to die by her son's sword, the poet contrives in that short, grim scene described above to swing some sympathy toward her. He is preparing for the third play of his strand, in which Orestes must be a culprit whose vindication is an object of divine contention. The trilogy runs on the idea of spiritual cause and effect. Not only has the vengeance of Loxias been accomplished through the mechanism of the ritual curse whereby Clytemnestra meets her doom, but also in the third drama, the *Eumenides*, there will be an apocalypse of the supernatural powers implicated in these human destinies.

II. CLYTEMNESTRA IN THE *Eumenides*.

The *Agamemnon* has shown as active the masterful Tyndarid, the *Choephoroe* as, in a sense, passive, that is as the *δύσθεος γυνή* brought to her doom. In both of these plays she is a very real individual.

In the *Eumenides* she appears for a brief space,⁶⁷ but merely as an *εἶδωλον*. She is thus not a flesh and blood character, but a figment of vindictive hatred, that thing made visible that haunts the remorseful and insane imagination of Orestes. As I have suggested, this play is an apocalyptic vision. The material veil of the universe has been drawn aside,⁶⁸ so that we may

⁶⁷ *Eum.* 94-139.

⁶⁸ Mr. Sigwick, instead of a veil withdrawn, thinks of the stage as "lifted, so to say, from earth to heaven." See his *Introduction* to his

see the divine beings already involved in the action of the trilogy. Certainly through Cassandra in the *Agamemnon* Aeschylus has presented the idea that the spiritual world interpenetrates the material, and the poignant lyric cries in the *Choephoroe* to the dead King and to deities of earth and heaven have keyed the audience to expectation of some august epiphany. Orestes and the wraith of Clytemnestra are the only personalities carried over from the *Choephoroe*. Since the mother is here a ghost, the only human character carried over is that of Orestes, and, as a matter of fact, he is the only human character in the *Eumenides*, barring the Pythian priestess, who speaks the prologue, and the group of Athenian citizens convened to vote on his case. The former is an official symbol of the Delphic oracle, and the latter, a mute conclave, symbolize the court of justice which they represent. Orestes thus is left as a lonely human figure. The only *dramatis persona* carried throughout the trilogy is Clytemnestra. It belongs to the poet's idea of the "conclusion of the whole matter" as an apocalyptic spectacle that in the final play she is a disembodied wraith.

Indeed, she is a kind of Erinys, a ghostly incarnation of the shed drops of maternal blood, hounding the slayer. It is out of this primitive conception of blood-guilt that the religious idea of independently existing Erinyes, a definite band of avengers, seems to have grown.⁶⁹ The word itself rings rather frequently

annotated text, p. 15. To me, the metaphor which I have instinctively chosen is more exact. Heretofore the divine figures had been present as potent forces in the action, but invisible.

⁶⁹ An interesting and scholarly compendium on ancient Greek ideas of blood-vengeance was published not long since:—Hubert J. Treiston: *Poine*, London, 1923. Much space is given to the discussion of various theories held by modern scholars on the origin of the idea of Erinyes. See in particular pp. 109 ff., 175 ff. Book III (pp. 276-424) treats of *Poine in Attic Tragedy*. Naturally, the story of Orestes is a central theme. The Aeschylean trilogy is discussed, pp. 276-302, the *Eumenides* specifically, pp. 287-302. The service which Professor Treiston has performed in collating material and developing an orderly investigation of this whole complicated subject is very great. Some of his conclusions other scholars may perhaps judge to be jeopardized, if not vitiated, by certain preconceptions of his in the matter of defining disputed terms, such as *Achaean*, *Pelasgian* etc. But, after all, how can a man discuss these obscure anthropological problems without the assumption of certain premises to his arguments and without impressing some words to do

in the two earlier dramas of the trilogy, as if the poet were delicately sounding the strain that would be dominant at the end.

Of the six instances of its use in the *Agamemnon*, two have the word in the singular. One of these occurs in that terrible oath by which Clytemnestra justifies the murder of Agamemnon as requital for the death of Iphigenia: "by the accomplishment of justice for my child, and by Ate and Erinys, to whom I slaughtered this man."⁷⁰ The other is in a choric passage of involuntary foreboding, which "hymns the lyreless dirge of Erinys."⁷¹ Cassandra has heard "the revel rout of kindred Erinyes," haunters of the Atreid house since the first crime wrought by that race, singing their dreadful song.⁷² The Herald who brought the news of Troy's fall had an ominous suggestion that, if the tidings were of the opposite tenor, it would be appropriate to sing "the paeon of Erinyes."⁷³ In the first *stasimon* the chorus remember that the gods sleep not, that "black Erinyes" in good time will set in darkness the unjust man.⁷⁴ Aegisthus exults in the brightness of the day on which he sees Agamemnon wrapped "in woven robes of Erinyes."⁷⁵

In the *Choephoroe* κλυτὰ βυσσόφρων Ἐρινίς brings Orestes home to avenge the stain of older bloodsheddings.⁷⁶ He has been threatened by the Delphic oracle with dreadful persecutions from Erinyes, to be wrought out of the paternal blood-drops, if he disobeys the command to kill.⁷⁷ While he pictures in imagination the death of Aegisthus, he predicts that "Erinyes, unstinted of murder, shall drink the third cup of blood un-

specified duty? Probably my objection that he does not give space for a full discussion of the matriarchate, in contra-distinction to the patriarchate, as a social order in terms of which certain primitive customs may be explicable, will seem to him to be merely a call for another set of counters in the game. Yet I cannot help believing that my idea, developed below in my text, of the *Eumenides* as representing the conflict between the matriarchate and the patriarchate is of prime importance in understanding the poet's complete thought in the trilogy and a clue of value in the study of Greek views on religion and social justice.

⁷⁰ *Ag.* 1432-1433.

⁷¹ *Ag.* 990-993. The genitive, Ἐρινίος, is dependent on an emendation of ἐριννίος, the word in *codd.* Cf. *Eum.* 331.

⁷² *Ag.* 1186-1192.

⁷⁵ *Ag.* 1580.

⁷³ *Ag.* 645.

⁷⁶ *Choeph.* 646-652.

⁷⁴ *Ag.* 461-466.

⁷⁷ *Choeph.* 283-284.

mixed.”⁷⁸ The law is stated thus:—blood murderously shed calls for blood in vengeance; death summons Erinyes, who brings destruction upon destruction.⁷⁹ In these four instances the word occurs three times in the singular, once in the plural.

Nowhere in the ten instances of its use in the two plays is the definite article prefixed. I believe that nothing but the Greek word, taken over into English as a proper name, can give the sense exactly, unless one may say *Vengeance* and *Vengeances*,⁸⁰—and that suggests too much the associations of English allegory. My point is that this personal concept needs definition by the article⁸¹ as little as might Apollo, Artemis, or Eros. When finally, in the third drama of the trilogy, there is a bodily revelation of *Vengeances* whose presence has heretofore been gruesomely felt, they are definitely Erinyes-hounds of the mother, against whom Clytemnestra warned her son: φύλαξαι μητρὸς ἐγκότους κύνας.⁸² Orestes had then replied: “Foregoing the deed (her murder), how shall I escape the hounds of the father?”⁸³ As madness gathers on him at the end of that drama, he exclaims: “Clearly these are mother’s wrathful hounds.”⁸⁴

I have used the metaphor of the lifted veil to describe the effect of the concluding drama. Or it might be regarded, in another aspect, as a shift of scene from the external world to the inner consciousness of Orestes.⁸⁵ For the spectators the poet

⁷⁸ *Choeph.* 577-578.

⁷⁹ *Choeph.* 400-404.

⁸⁰ To my feeling, the translation of the word which Professor Herbert Weir Smyth consistently uses in his beautifully phrased English version of the trilogy (cited above, note 5), “Spirit of Vengeance,” misses the sense of the Greek personification, which is complete.

⁸¹ Mr. E. D. A. Morshead in his famous verse translation (*The House of Atreus*, London, 1911) uses the anglicized Latin word, *Furies*. But that carries a connotation from later literature. Moreover, he seems always to think of *the Fury*, *the Furies*.

⁸² *Choeph.* 924.

⁸³ *Choeph.* 925.

⁸⁴ *Choeph.* 1054.

⁸⁵ The psychological subtlety of Aeschylus in depicting the incipient madness of Orestes at the end of the *Choephoroe* deserves close study. On my idea of the *Eumenides* as a dramatizing of the situation from within the consciousness of Orestes, see an earlier paper of mine, *The Insanity of the Hero—an Intrinsic Detail of the Orestes Vendetta*, *Trans. A. P. A.* vol. LVIII, esp. p. 55.

makes visible the supernatural shapes that, as hallucinations, are constantly present to the mind of the sole human character.

At all events, the band of Erinyes there appearing are Clytemnestra's hounds. Her wraith urges them out of slumber to renewed ardor of pursuit.⁸⁶ As a claim to their services, she cites her many libations to them in the past.⁸⁷ She calls on no Olympian, and it is noteworthy that her ghost does not arise until Apollo and Hermes, the Olympian supporters of Orestes, have vanished. The whole strength of her prayer, which passes to her sleeping Erinyes in a dream,⁸⁸ symbol of Clytemnestra's nebulous existence, is addressed to these particular chthonic powers.⁸⁹ She mourns her dishonored status among the dead, declaring that no divinity has been interested to avenge her shocking murder by her son.⁹⁰ Her final word is of relentlessly vindictive hatred of Orestes.⁹¹ The chorus in the *Agamemnon* reflects the King; that in the *Choephoroe*, Electra and Cassandra; that in the *Eumenides*, the disembodied, revengeful spirit of Clytemnestra, her Erinyes. The ethical appeal of the last play, whereby the sympathy of the audience is directed toward Orestes so that the horror at his crime is almost forgotten, lies in the ugly realism of this venomous pursuit by Clytemnestra and her dogs.

By reason of Clytemnestra's excommunication from Olympian protection and because the pursued Orestes has expressly received that protection, the ghostly struggle between mother and son becomes a contest between chthonic powers, known as "older" divinities, and the "younger" divine masters of the world.⁹² Throughout the *Agamemnon* sounded the *motif* of Zeus, zealous guardian of the hearth and of sceptre-bearing kings, and, in a peculiar sense, patron of the Pelopidae. In a famous choric passage of that play,⁹³ there is the extraordinary idea, occurrent elsewhere in Greek theology, of the superseding of one dynasty

⁸⁶ *Eum.* 94, 121, 124, 131-134.

⁸⁷ *Eum.* 106-109.

⁸⁸ *Eum.* 116.

⁸⁹ *Eum.* 115.

⁹⁰ *Eum.* 95-102.

⁹¹ *Eum.* 135-139.

⁹² The conflict is explicit, *Eum.* 67 ff., 162 ff., 757-761, 778-793 (repeated 808-823).

⁹³ *Ag.* 160-175.

of gods by another through conquest. In such manner came the establishment of the rule of Zeus. "A mightier man" had come and "spoiled the house." A divine triad, prominent in this celestial dynasty, take visible shape in the *Eumenides* as the powerful supporters of Orestes:—Apollo,⁹⁴ Cassandra's avenger already by the hand of Orestes, now manifest as counsel and co-defendant⁹⁵ in the trial of the matricide; Hermes, official messenger of Olympus and guardian of the dead,⁹⁶ to whom Orestes and Electra made special appeal in the second drama;⁹⁷ Athena, the great exemplar of the patriarchal dispensation, as a child, born mature and motherless, of her father.⁹⁸ Behind them Zeus is augustly felt.⁹⁹ These are the "friends" of the matricide, to whom Clytemnestra's ghost bitterly alludes.¹⁰⁰ Opposed to them are her Erinyes-hounds, deities characteristically known as children of a mother, Night,¹⁰¹ and belonging to that older order whom the younger gods have "ridden down."¹⁰² Therefore the cause of "the world's best father-lover"¹⁰³ becomes the test case between the Patriarchate and the Matriarchate. The deciding vote is appropriately cast by unmothered Athena, in accordance with Apollo's enunciation of the astounding law of the patriarchate: that a child is not related to its mother.¹⁰⁴ With this may be bracketed, as corollary, another

⁹⁴ Apollo appears in the *Eumenides*, 64-93, 179-234, 566-753.

⁹⁵ *Eum.* 576-581.

⁹⁶ Hermes, a "dumb actor," appears, *Eum.* 64-93, 235-777 (perhaps to end).

⁹⁷ *Choeph.* 1-2, 124-128. Cf. words of the chorus, *Choeph.* 727-729.

⁹⁸ Athena appears, *Eum.* 397-489, 566 to end. On the miracle of her birth, *Eum.* 662-666.

⁹⁹ Note the appeals to Zeus in the *Choephoroe*, 382-385, 394-396, 409. In the *Eumenides*, Apollo affirms Zeus to be the divine source of his oracles and in the same context pleads the atrocity of Clytemnestra's guilt, a woman's murder of a man, sceptre-endowed of Zeus (*Eum.* 616-627). Cf. *Eum.* 17-19 (of Apollo as mouthpiece of Zeus), also 713. Note 757-761, cited above.

¹⁰⁰ *Eum.* 119. (This line is numbered 122 in Professor Smyth's edition.)

¹⁰¹ *Eum.* 321-322, 791-792, 821-822, 844-845, 876-877, 1034. In 961-962, the *Moirai* (mentioned in 173, as *παλαιγενεῖς*) are termed *ματροκασιγνήται*.

¹⁰² *Eum.* 778-793; repeated, 808-823. Cf. 149-150.

¹⁰³ *Choeph.* 1051, *φίλτατ' ἀνθρώπων πατρί*.

¹⁰⁴ *Eum.* 658-666, 734-741. Professor Treston (*op. cit.* p. 289) calls this an "absurd opinion" on parentage. But it actually held in Roman law.

dictum of this very masculine dispensation, whereby Apollo, in rebuttal of the argument of the chorus of Erinyes, that Clytemnestra's crime against Agamemnon was not a murder of blood-kin, characterizes the murder of a husband as a heinous sin toward Zeus, Hera, and Aphrodite, *i. e.* the patriarchal sanctions of marriage.¹⁰⁵

By right of its concluding "act,"—the *Eumenides*,—the sole extant example of a Greek trilogy is a mystery play. If the second member may be called *The Vengeance of Loxias*, the first would be *Zeus Defied* and the last, *The Triumph of the Patriarchate*. Or the religious thought on which the trilogy is threaded might well be expressed in terms suggested by the dramatist himself in his formulation of the ethical law of *πάθει μάθος*.¹⁰⁶ The *Agamemnon*, grim great drama of action, is *τὸ δρᾶν*; the *Choephoroe*, drama of retribution, is *τὸ παθεῖν*; the *Eumenides*, drama of justification, is *τὸ μαθεῖν*. The women of the chorus in the *Choephoroe* sadly state the law in its application to Orestes: *μίμνοντι δὲ καὶ πάθος ἀνθεῖ*.¹⁰⁷ But, by extending their metaphor, it may be said that the blossom of the suffering that inevitably came to him is shown by the happy ending of his judicial acquittal to have grown into the full flower of wisdom. The paean¹⁰⁸ which celebrates the reconciliation of the older with the younger gods, "Moirā with All-seeing Zeus," makes the woes of the Pelopid house details in the grand scheme of the *divina commedia*. Through bitter human experience it has come to pass that the blood-hounds of the chthonic matriarchate are leashed as domestic watch-dogs to guard the laws upholding an orderly patriarchal society.

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¹⁰⁵ *Eum.* 211-221. Athena also speaks to this point, 738-740.

¹⁰⁶ *Ag.* 176-178; 1562-1564; *Choeph.* 313-314.

¹⁰⁷ *Choeph.* 1009.

¹⁰⁸ *Eum.* 1032-1047. The *Eumenides*, which concludes on the note of the peaceful reconciliation of Erinyes with Olympians, begins with the prologue of the Pythian priestess, descriptive of the peaceful supplanting of chthonic powers by Olympian Apollo at oracular Delphi, *Eum.* 1-19.

THE ASTRONOMICA OF MANILIUS.

[The article presents the personality, originality and conventionality of Manilius with numerous adaptations of material both poetry and prose. Some passages are analyzed to find out whether the sources were improved. The non-astronomical phases of the poem are set forth, and some noticeable features of his style are shown. The conclusion is drawn that although Manilius was a literary satellite, the study of his orbit and movements is of value.]

I. MANILIUS.

A. *Personality.*

Although Manilius wrote on an abstract subject, his poetry has a very considerable personal element, but no indication of the time¹ or place of his birth, and, furnishing the means for the calculation of the horoscope of others, he is silent in regard to his own. To him Homer is maximus . . . vates (2, 1):

. . . cuiusque ex ore profusos
Omnis posteritas latices in carmen duxit.

Hesiod is proximus illi, and he himself is a vates (1, 23; 2, 142; 3, 41; 4, 121), as if he also "Laurea donandus Apollinari." He freely refers to his intentions, and his poem is thick-set with injunctions in the imperative, the subjunctive and the second periphrastic. His tone is that of a schoolmaster laying down the rules of the problem. Yet he is pedagogically fair, and gives, as it were, the complaint of a reader (4, 387 ff.):

Multum, inquis, tenuemque iubes me ferre laborem,
Rursus et in magna mergis caligine mentem,
Cernere cum facili lucem ratione viderer.

This begins with a Vergilian touch, and the answer closes with one,—potuisse sat est. Cui bono indicates the spirit of an objector's attitude (4, 866 ff.); but Manilius is undaunted (id. 883 f.):

Iam nusquam natura latet; pervidimus omnem,
Et capto potimur mundo.

His plea to the Muses and declaration of purpose (3, 3 f.):

¹ The Date of Manilius A. J. P. 52, 157-167.

Ducite Pierides. Vestros extendere fines
Conor et ignotos in carmina ducere census,

is followed by a section (5-23) setting forth the subjects of which he did not intend to write. As if he had in mind the composition of a historical poem, he concludes with the words:

. . . Romanae gentis origo,
Totque duces, orbis tot bella atque otia, et omnis
In populi unius leges ut cesserit orbis
differtur.

There is a comparison of the poet with others, and a heralding of his own perseverance at the beginning of the fifth Book, *Hic alius finisset iter*, and:

Me properare viam mundus iubet, omnia circum
Sidera vectatum toto decurrere caelo.

We wonder if the Romans acquainted with the words of Horace (*Sat. 1, 6, 58 f.*):

. . . non ego circum
Me Satureiano vectari rura caballo,

could entirely disassociate the two pictures.

B. *Originality.*

The originality of the writer is the burden of the opening lines, yet in spite of this claim of primacy, the thought is the same as in Lucretius (1, 921 ff.), with perhaps a suggestion from Vergil (*Georg. 3, 289 ff.*). In a notable collection of borrowings, of contradictions and of figures (2, 49-59) he declares that the Muses have sung every kind of song, and that every pathway to Helicon has been trodden. Yet he closes the passage with

Nostra loquar; nulli vatum debemus ora,
Nec furtum, sed opus veniet, soloque volamus
In caelum curru, propria rate pellimus undas.

There is included a reference to the meadows (*Lucr. 2, 319; 5, 462*), and very likely to the Bandusian fountain of Horace (*Odes 3, 13, 9*). The *Dialogus de Oratoribus* (9, 20 ff.) declares:

Adice quod, si modo dignum aliquid elaborare et efficere velint.

relinquenda conversatio amicorum et iucunditas urbis, deserenda cetera officia utque ipsi dicunt, in nemora et lucos, id est in solitudinem secedendum est.

This fairly expresses the loneliness of Manilius for he writes (2, 136 ff.) :

Haec ego divino cupiam cum ad sidera flatu
Ferre nec in turbam, nec turbae carmina condam,
Sed solus vacuo veluti vectatus in orbe.

Here again we may call in question the originality of the poet, for Cicero has (N. D. 2, 66, 167) : *Nemo igitur vir magnus sine aliquo adflatu divino umquam fuit*, and other appropriations show that Cicero's work was known to Manilius. However, he boldly faced the obstacles which confronted him (4, 436 ff.), and cared not for progress along the line of least resistance (3, 26 ff.), for it is easy

Auroque atque ebori decus addere, cum rudis ipsa
Materies niteat.

Here, too, he borrows, for a part of this is from the fine image of Vergil (Aen. 1, 592).

C. *Conventionality.*

Manilius observed conventional propriety in mentioning the Muses (3, 3), but his appeal to Caesar is much stronger (1, 7 ff.). He also invokes the aid of the reader (3, 36 f.) :

Huc ades, O quicumque meis advertere coeptis
Aurem oculosque potes, veras et percipe voces.

The first part of this is with an eye to the words of Vergil (Aen. 10, 461) in a prayer to Hercules, and the latter part is based on the cry of Aeneas to Venus (ib. 1, 409). He sets forth the two-fold aspect of his work, *carminis et rerum* (1, 22), and the difficulties connected with both. However, Lucretius had already incorporated long Greek words in his poetry, and Cicero had already developed a similar theme in translation and had used the names of the constellations in the dactylic hexameter. Manilius was not confronted by a new or insurmountable difficulty, and his metrical efforts were a success. His schemata closely parallel

those of Vergil, and in the matter of elision he is closer to the norm of Ovid than that of Vergil.

Lucretius asserts that it was difficult to set forth "*Graiorum obscura reperta*" "*propter egestatem linguae et rerum novitatem*". He especially refers to this when describing the *homoeomeria* (1, 830 ff.). Manilius had a like difficulty (2, 693 ff.):

Perspice nunc tenuem visu rem, pondere magnam,
Et tantum Graio signari nomine passam,
Dodecatemoria.

Similar comments are made on *Daemonien* (2, 897), *athla* (3, 162), and *ecliptica* (4, 818). The phrasing is a little different in 4, 298:

Quam partem indigenae dixere Decania gentes.

He gives a description of *Engonasin* with an explanation of the term (5, 646 f.):

Nixa genu species vel Graio nomine dicta
Engonasin, "Graiae dixere decanica gentes."

This was probably taken over from Cicero (N. D. 2, 42, 108):
quam quidem Graeci

Engonasin vocitant, genibus quia nixa feratur.

In addition to this Cicero gives a definition of *Cynosura* (*ibid.* 105), *Ophiuchus* (108), *Hyades* (111) and *Procyon* (114). Judging by these and a few others in the *Aratea*, as well as by the words of Lucretius, the remarks of Manilius were purely conventional, for he had no great trouble in fitting Greek words into his meter, or in explaining the meaning except in the case of a few abstract terms. *Octotropos* (2, 969) required a change in quantity, but most of the Greek words were as adaptable as were Latin proper names. Excepting the names of constellations such words were comparatively few, were suited to the hexameter, and unobjectional except to the purist criticising Greek patches on Roman texture.

II. ADAPTED MATERIAL.

Manilius drew freely from his predecessors and might have applied to himself the words of Horace (Odes 4, 2, 27 ff.) *apis . . . more modoque . . . per laborem plurimum*. At times he has a word or two to suggest what he had in mind. A few illustrations will suffice. *Felix* (4, 548), although without the relative, suggests Vergil (Georg. 2, 490), as *premo* (1,81) recalls its use by Horace (Odes 2, 10, 3) and *Emicat* (5, 598) its use by Vergil (Aen. 5, 319). *Qui primus* (1, 486) points to Lucretius who had applied the words to Epicurus (3, 2), in the same way as *proximus illi* in the comparison by Manilius (2, 11) point to the comparison by Horace (Odes 1, 12, 19). *Restat ut* (1, 561) introduces to *coner* as in Horace to *soler* (Ep. 1, 1, 27), and *Felix illa dies* (5, 569) are the words of the *Ciris* (27). In *nova* begin the third Book of Manilius as they do the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. Some of the fields explored by Lucretius were also traversed by Manilius, and some similar views of the two will be presented.

A. *Lucretius*.

1. *Cosmogony*: A part of the work of Lucretius, Ovid and Manilius was to show "how the heav'ns and earth Rose out of Chaos." Lucretius (5, 67 ff.; 449 ff.) discusses the question, and has *primus se sustulit aether Ignifer* (458) which Manilius arranges in one line (1, 149):

Ignis in aetherias volucer se sustulit auras.

The order of *limus . . . subsedit* (5, 496) is reversed (1, 149), and *et tanto magis* (5, 489) appears as *quoque magis* (1, 162). Lucretius in describing the Mother of the gods writes (2, 603):

*Aeris in spatio magnam pendere docentes
Tellurem.*

Manilius uses the same verb (1, 173 and 195; 3, 50), the first followed by an argument, in which he declares (194 ff.) that *natura . . . pendentis terrae* ought not to seem a matter of wonder *cum pendeat ipse Mundus et in nullo ponat vestigia fundo*. Lucretius expressly declares *neque habere ubi corpora prima Consistant* (2, 91 f.), and *nam medium nihil esse potest* (1, 1069). Manilius has *consistent corpora plagis*, *Et con-*

currendo prohibentur longius ire. Lucretius writing of the seas, lands and skies, announces the day of doom (5, 96 ff.):

Una dies dabit exitio multosque per annos
Sustentata ruet moles et machina mundi.

Manilius practically denies this by giving it a conditional setting (2, 804 ff.) quae nisi . . . excipiant . . . Dissociata fluat resoluto machina mundo, the concluding words showing that he had in view the words of Lucretius. Disagreeing as to the outcome, the two poets are equally at variance in regard to the position of the divine in the universe.

2. Theology: The mission of Lucretius was to show how things came into existence without the aid of the gods (1, 158), for they spend a care-free life (2, 647 ff.; 5, 82; 6, 58), and Nature (2, 1092):

Ipsa sua per se sponte omnia Dis agere expers.

His views (3, 18 ff.) are fairly summarized in Tennyson's Lucretius:

The Gods, who haunt

The lucid interspace of world and world,
Where never creeps a cloud, or moves a wind,
Nor ever falls the least white star of snow,
Nor ever lowest roll of thunder moans,
Nor sound of human sorrow mounts to mar
Their sacred everlasting calm!

Manilius was a creationist rather than a materialistic evolutionist, and his ethical design seems to have been to substitute a deistic conception of creation for the materialistic one presented by Lucretius. He declares that he will sing (2, 61 ff.):

Infusumque deum caelo terrisque fretoque,

and continues with a long exposition of the results unless imposito pareret tota magistro. He had already stated his conclusion (1, 247 ff.) Hoc opus . . . vis animae divina regit, or, as it is put in other words (1, 531):

Non casus opus est, magni sed numinis ordo.

Spiritus unus (2, 64) is mentioned, divina potentia (3, 90), auctor (3, 681), and deus (2, 475 et al.). Notice also the asser-

tion mundum divino numine verti (1, 484), an attitude which Lucretius (1, 154) assigns to inability to see the causes of things. *Natura* is an equivalent to these terms (3, 48). See also (2, 82 f.):

Hic igitur deus et ratio quae cuncta gubernat,
Ducit ab aeternis terrena animalia signis.

In this respect the passivity set forth by Lucretius is in sharp contrast with the activity proclaimed by Manilius (2, 107 f.):

. . . quem denique in unum
Descendit deus atque habitat seque ipse requirit,

and of the same import (4, 916 f.):

Ipse deus vultusque suos corpusque recludit
Semper volvendo, seque ipsum inculcat et offert.

The divine power inspires its ministers especially (1, 49 f.), yet the indwelling is not for the elect only but for all (2, 107 ff.), and the poet gives for the encouragement of all (4, 895):

Exemplumque dei quisque est in imagine parva,

and gives an affirmative answer to his own question (ib. 886 f.):

An dubium est, habitare deum sub pectore nostro,
In caelumque redire animas, caeloque venire?

To these there need be added but another line in regard to ratio (2, 131):

Nam neque decipitur ratio, nec decipit umquam.

3. Social Development: Lucretius closes his account of the industrial and social evolution of mankind with the declaration (5, 1451 f.):

Usus et impigrae simul experientia mentis
Paulatim docuit pedetemtim progredientis,

and this furnished the basis for a similar sketch in the first Book of Manilius:

61: Per varios usus artem experientia fecit;
79: Sed cum longa dies acuit mortalia corda;
90: Semper enim ex aliis alia proseminat usus;
95: Omnia conando docilis sollertia vicit.

In these lines *proseminat* and *sollertia*, not used by Lucretius or Vergil, may have been brought over from Cicero, and *longa dies* (Aen. 5, 784) is a modification of *longa diei* . . . *aetas* (Lucr. 1, 558). Two facts set forth in the *Astronomica* are the immutability of the *mundus* (1, 478 ff.), and the mutability of the mortal and the earthly. When the Greeks overthrew Troy, *Arctos* and *Orion* were moving with opposing fronts just as now, but on the earth and in the affairs of men (id. 515 ff.) :

*Omnia mortali mutantur lege creata,
Nec se cognoscunt terrae vertentibus annis.*

Later he returns to the same topic (4, 821-839) and declares :

In tantum longo mutantur tempore cuncta.

The same mutability of the animate is set forth by Lucretius (2, 77) with the verb in the same position, but with *brevi* for *longo* :

Inque brevi spatio mutantur saecula animantum.

In the use of *tantum* Manilius agrees with Vergil (Aen. 3, 415) :

Tantum aevi longinqua valet mutare vetustas.

Manilius goes farther than Lucretius, and with the thesis (2, 422) :

Sic bellum natura gerit, discordat et annus,

shows how the races of men *inimica sorte feruntur* (2, 607). The results are given in the poet's portrayal of his own times (2, 592 f.) :

*At quanta est scelerum moles per saecula cuncta,
Quamque onus invidiae non excusabile terris!*

Of similar import are (4, 418 and 94 ff.) :

*Crimen ubique frequens et laudi noxia iuncta est;
Quin etiam infelix virtus et noxia felix,
Et male consultis pretium est, prudentia fallit,
Nec fortuna probat causas sequiturque merentes.*

The state of affairs set forth in 3, 525 ff. is similar and amid these conditions nothing is more rare than friendship (2, 582), and when fortune seeks, she rarely finds loyalty (id. 591). But

it is not fortune, but fate that is inevitable (2, 113: Aen. 8, 334 ineluctabile), the immutable cause of mutability (4, 14). This is the power not of themselves which controls men (id. 84), and it is absolutely impartial (id. 90):

Nec sunt immensis opibus venalia fata.

In contrast with this, Lucretius uses *fatum* three times and *fatalis* once, each indicating uniformity. The sway of luxury is almost as potent (5, 291 ff.). In his presentation of moral conditions and tendencies Manilius is akin to Seneca, and at one point (5, 376 f.) Numidarum pascimur oris, Phasidos et lucis, he states a fact mentioned also by Petronius (93, 1 f.):

Ales Phasiacis petita Colchis
Atque Afrae volucres placent palato,

and also (119, 36 f.) iam Phasidos unda Orbata est avibus. The conclusion of the whole matter is given in the introduction to the fourth Book:

Luxuriamque lucris emimus, luxuque rapinas,
Et summum census pretium est, effundere cenum.

And this is the environment of "the paragon of animals" (4, 905 ff.):

. . . Stetit unus in arcem
Erectus capitis, victorque ad sidera mittit
Sidereos oculos, propiusque adspectat Olympum,
Inquiritque Iovem,

and (2, 261 f.):

Sic nostros casus solatur mundus in astris,
Exemploque docet patienter damna subire.

In a few passages Manilius asserts what Lucretius denies, as the wonder of man at the disappearance and reappearance of the sun (M. 1, 68 ff.: Lucr. 5, 971 ff.), and the existence of men with the bodies of wild beasts and the limbs of men (M. 4, 101: Lucr. 2, 700 ff.; 5, 878 ff.).

4. The Same or similar Collocations: Each poet expresses joy in his work with *iuvat* (L. 1, 926 et al.: M. 1, 17), and equal reverence with *immortalia sermone notantes* (L. 5, 122) and *nec fas est verbis suspendere mundum* (M. 4, 440). A few col-

locations selected from the mass, with the reference to Lucretius first, will show the close study which Manilius had made of the phraseology of his predecessor: *erumpere caelo* (1, 163: 1, 859); *cogit . . . fateri* (1, 467: 2, 526); *praeposterus ordo* (3, 621: 2, 764). In some instances there is a slight change, but with preservation of the thought, as in *ruinas fecere* (1, 741): *naufragium faciunt* (2, 330); *tereti cervice reposta* (1, 35): *molli cervice reflexus* (1, 334) and *nivea cervice reclinis* (5, 555); *continet amplexu terram* (5, 319): *cingentis . . . amplexibus orbem* (4, 596). *Ad summas emergere opes* (2, 13; 3, 63) indicates that *ad* should be read after *rerum* with *tantas emergere moles*, (1, 116). There is an occasional resemblance in longer passages, as *sub pedibus tellus cum tota vacillat Concussaeque cadunt urbes* (5, 1236 f.): *concutitur tellus . . . Subducitur solum pedibus* (4, 828 f.). *Nos exaequat victoria caelo* (1, 78) is evidently the basis for (2, 452):

Exaequentque fidem caelo mortalia corda,

as (5, 179):

Qui numquam vero vitae gustavit amorem,

is for (3, 613):

Vix degustatam rapiens sub flore iuventam.

Manilius portrays the coming of Spring (3, 652 ff.) in a shorter, but palpable imitation of the description by Lucretius (1, 6 ff.). The latter has

*. . . tibi suavis daedala tellus
Summittit flores, tibi rident aequora ponti
Placatumque nitet diffuso lumine caelum.*

The order of the earth and sea is reversed in

*Tum primum miti pelagus consternitur unda
Et varios audet flores emittere tellus.*

The original is more direct with *summittit* for *audet emittere*, and more colorful with *suavis* for *varios*, and *daedala* with no corresponding adjective in Manilius. The latter has an incongruous combination:

*Tunc pecudum volucrumque genus per pabula laeta
In Venerem partumque ruit,*

which lengthens pecudes persultant pabula laeta. At only one point is an effort made to reproduce the sweep of the phrases of Lucretius:

Denique per maria ac montes fluviosque rapaces
Frondiferasque domos avium camposque virentes,

and the result is an almost static situation:

. . . totumque canora
Voce nemus loquitur, frondemque virescit in omnem.

There are two descriptions of night in Manilius (3, 194):

At cum obducta nigris nox orbem texerit alis,

and (5, 60):

Ementita diem nigras nox contrahit alas.

The second has material used in the first which is an adaptation of Lucretius (6, 853):

Nox ubi terribili terram caligine texit,

for caligo substituting nigrae . . . alae, evidently suggested by the words of Horace mors atris . . . alis (Sat. 2, 1, 58). We prefer the Manilian statement, and also in (4, 1 ff.):

Quid tam sollicitis vitam consumimus annis
Torquemurque metu, caecaque cupidine rerum
Aeternisque senes curis, dum quaerimus aevum,
Perdimus?

The first part adapts in curis consumit inanibus aevum (L. 5, 1431) with sollicitis stronger than inanibus. The personal touch in the second line was suggested by Torquemur miseri in the Aetna (256) which Manilius evidently considered Vergilian. In the third line curis is more annoying than Horace's Aeternis . . . consiliis (Odes 2, 11, 11). Manilius gives a summary of human experience (3, 526 f.):

Et subtexta malis bona sunt, lacrimaeque sequuntur
Vota, nec in cunctos servat fortuna tenorem.

This is prosaic in comparison with one phase portrayed by Lucretius (2, 576 ff.):

. . . miscetur funere vago
 Quem pueri tollunt visentis luminis oras.
 Nec nox ulla diem neque noctem aurora secuta est
 Quae non audierit mixtos vagitibus aegris
 Ploratus mortis comites et funeris atri.

Some collocations may have been taken from either Lucretius or Vergil, as *perlabitur* (L. 4, 249; Aen. 1, 147: M. 5, 420), *verrere aequora* (L. 5, 267 and 389; 6, 625: M. 4, 285 *everrere*; *labentia signa* (L. 1, 2: M. 2, 26 *rev.*; Aen. 3, 515 *sidera*).

B. Vergil.

With the exception of some of the poems of Ovid that of Manilius is the first which is largely indebted to the works of Vergil, and this applies also to the poems of the Vergilian Appendix. Manilius says of his own work *nec parva est gratia nostri Oris* (4, 441 f.), and has *tenuem laborem* (ib. 387), separating the parts of *In tenui labor*; at *tenuis non gloria* (Georg. 4, 6). Philippi is given as an illustration of the influence of comets (ib. 1, 490 ff.) and also by Manilius (1, 909 ff.). Continuing he states *restabant Actia bella*, and

Atque ipsa Isiaco certarunt fulmina sistro.

Vergil has *Actia bella* (Aen. 8, 675), and *agmina sistro* (id. 696). There are three touches (1, 79 ff.) similar to ones in the short sketch of the development of Man (Georg. 1, 121 ff.). These are *tentando . . . usus* (1, 83): *usus meditando*; *omnia sollertia vicit* (1, 95): *labor omnia vicit*; and (1, 109):

Attribuitque suas formas, sua nomina signis,
 for

Navita tum stellis numeros et nomina fecit.

The appropriation of material for a half line and the use of a compound for a simple verb are shown (4, 171: Georg. 2, 512):

Atque alio sub sole novos exquirere census:
Atque alio patriam quaerunt sub sole iacentem.

Some of the material of a few of Vergil's similes has been utilized by Manilius: *Ebori decus addere* (3, 28: Aen. 1, 592);

volucrique simillima fumo (1, 824) : v. s. somno (Aen. 2, 794; 6, 702) ; praeceps in Tartara tendit (2, 794) : radice in Tartara tendit (Georg. 2, 292; Aen. 4, 446).

Manilius also borrowed from Vergil the substance of some personal activities. The action in (5, 564) :

Extulit et liquido Nereis ab aequore vultum,

is as in (Aen. 1, 127) :

Prospiciens summa placidum caput extulit unda,

although extulit is the only word repeated. There is equal success with

Pinguique impressis despumant musta racemis (3, 663) :
and

Et foliis undam trepidi despumat aeni (Georg. 1, 296).

The simple fact of sowing is variously stated by Manilius, mandant et sulcis Cererem (3, 664), et sulcis semina miscet (4, 219), and (5, 274) :

Seminaque in fenus sulcatis credere terris;

but all with an eye to Vergil (Georg. 1, 223 f.) sulcis committas semina . . . anni spem credere terrae.

Some objects in nature portrayed by Vergil are either transferred unchanged or retouched by Manilius: Tinguatur Oceano (Aen. 1, 745: 1, 411) ; sol igneus (Georg. 4, 426: 1, 514) ; pictae volucres (Georg. 3, 243; Aen. 4, 525: 2, 43) ; dumosis arvis (Georg. 2, 180: 2, 229) ; equis . . . anhelis (Georg. 1, 250: Aen. 5, 739: 2, 796) ; spumantis apri (Aen. 4, 158: 5, 229) ; ramove sedentem (Georg. 4, 514: 5, 373) ; pendentem de rupe (Ecl. 1, 76: 5, 570) ; pumicibusque cavis (Georg. 4, 43: 5, 150). Some changed pictures are, quercus . . . sublimi vertice nutant (Aen. 9, 682 f.) : viridi nutantes vertice silvas (1, 5) ; cantando rumpitur anguis (Ecl. 8, 72) : rumpere vocibus angues (1, 92) ; Bacchus amat colles (Georg. 2, 113) : quod colles Bacchus amaret (2, 20) ; Iri, decus caeli (Aen. 9, 18) : Oceani caelique decus (1, 347).

Other borrowings and adaptations indicate a firm grasp on the minutiae of Vergil's phraseology. Good illustrations are

subduxerat in the same position (Aen. 6, 524: 1, 76), and also procumbunt (Aen. 6, 180: 2, 776). Out of a long list we give only tam dira cupido (Aen. 6, 373: 4, 539); vivere raptō (Aen. 7, 749: 4, 182); and oblitus sui (Aen. 3, 629: 5, 607). A few examples of equivalent collocations will also be given: *Iam iam cadenti* (Aen. 6, 602): *iam iamque tenenti* (1, 435); *aliosque recursus* (Aen. 5, 583): *variosque recursus* (1, 485); *secessu longo* (Aen. 1, 159): *longo . . . recessu* (2, 84). *Plaudentem . . . columbam* (Aen. 5, 516) is transformed to *pendentem . . . volucrem* (5, 297), and *omnia in omnia . . . percurrere* (Aen. 6, 627) is changed to its elements in *magna cum parvis . . . percurrere* (1, 117). Manilius states as a fact (1, 8):

Qui regis augustis parentem legibus orbem,

what Vergil (Ecl. 4, 17) gives as a prophecy:

Pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem.

A comparison of a few longer passages will show how Manilius either failed or succeeded in rivaling Vergil. The latter writes of the great plague (Georg. 3, 517 ff.):

It tristis arator

Maerentem abiungens fraterna morte iuencum,
Atque opere in medio defixa relinquit aratra.

Manilius weakens this with *defessus* for *tristis*, and almost erases Vergil's picture of death with (1, 878 f.):

Et steriles inter sulcos defessus arator
Ad iuga maerentes cogit frustrata iuencos.

However, this may be Vergil set over against Vergil, for Manilius draws on the *Moretum* (123):

Sub iuga parentis cogit lorata iuencos.

Vergil writes (11, 616):

Fulminis in morem aut tormento ponderis acti,

in which the relative slowness of the second part overbalances the first. Compared with this the adaptation by Manilius (3, 361):

Turbinis in morem recta vertigine curret,

is unified the latter part describing the first. It is written of the gardener (5, 256 ff.) :

Ille colet nitidis gemmantem floribus hortum,
Pallentes violas et purpureos hyacinthos,
Liliaque et Tyrias imitata papavera luces,
Vernantisque rosae rubicundo sanguine florem.

This is based on the words of Vergil (Ecl. 2, 45 ff.) lilia . . . pallentes violas . . . papavera . . . narcissum et florem . . . bene olentis anethi. This omits the coloring of papavera, and in the last line presents the odor of anethi instead of the color of the rose. It also has narcissum instead of hyacinthos with their noticeable coloring. Compare suave rubens hyacinthus (Ecl. 3, 63) and ferrugineos h. (Geo. 4, 183). Vergil's imitator, Columella, has niveos, caeruleos h. (10, 100).

The lines (1, 923 ff.) :

. . . Iam bella quiescant
Atque adamanteis discordia vincta catenis
Aeternos habeat frenos in carcere clausa,

are a palpable imitation of the words of Vergil (Aen. 1, 294 ff.) :

. . . Furor impius intus
Saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aenis
Post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento.

The quietus put on war by the adamanteis catenis is strongly in contrast with the bellowings of Furor bound with aenis . . . nodis. Manilius may have taken his phrase, with change in spelling of adjective, from Aeschylus (Prom. Vinct. 1, 6) ἀδαμαντίνων δεσμῶν; cf. Ovid (Met. 7, 104) adamanteis . . . naribus. It may have come as a suggestion from Horace's adamantinos . . . clavos (Odes 3, 24, 5), or from its use in other connections by Propertius (see Thesaurus s. v.). Augustine gives witness to its proverbial character, adamantinis, ut dicitur, catenis, and Milton (P. L. 1, 48 f.) "to dwell In adamantine chains" to its appropriateness; cf. Lowell (Columbus 187) adamantine links. We also select a line from the Ciris (76) :

Ipsa trucem multo misceret sanguine pontum.

Manilius has infectos sanguine fluctus (4, 289), infecit . . . sanguine campos (1, 900), and the nearer parallel (5, 667) :

Inficiturque suo permixtus sanguine pontus.

But *inficio* is better than *misceo*, although the suggestion for its use may have come from Horace (*Odes* 3, 13, 6 f.) *inficiet tibi Rubro sanguine rivos*. The application by Manilius is broader than that by Horace, and both are better than the boxing gloves shown by Vergil *infecta sanguine* (*Aen.* 5, 413).

C. *Horace.*

The material garnered from Horace is of the same character, and from the mass of parallels only enough will be given to show that Manilius recalled at will, from all the works of the earlier poet, what was suitable for his purpose. *Iusto secernere iniquum* (*Sat.* 1, 3, 113) has the parts reversed and slightly changed in *iniquum separat aequo* (4, 771), as *fugienda petendis*, following line, in *fugienda petendaque* (4, 815). *Qui iam contento . . . fune laborat* (*Sat.* 2, 7, 20) is evidently the basis of *at qui contento minitatur . . . nervo* (4, 347). Horace uses *mordax* (*Sat.* 1, 4, 93) and *risus* . . . *quaerit* (*Ep.* 1, 7, 79), and the two are combined (5, 145):

Et sale mordaci dulcis quaerentia risus.

Ille tenax animi (4, 165) is an adaptation of the well known *tenacem propositi virum* (*Odes* 3, 3, 1), and *ore magis tenero* (4, 19) of *os tenerum* (*Ep.* 2, 1, 126). The adjective in *claram Rhodon* (*Odes* 1, 7, 1) is differently applied in *c. Corinthum* (4, 611). Although *discordia concors* (1, 142) does not have a parallel in Horace, it may be taken as a reversal of *concordia discors* (*Ep.* 1, 12, 19); cf. *vesania discors* (*Sat.* 2, 3, 174) and *symphonia discors* (*A. P.* 374). *Enatat* (*A. P.* 20: 2, 942), on account of its limited use, may be considered as one of the terms borrowed by Manilius. *Notandae . . . vires* (2, 958), and *nascentum mores sunt* (4, 408) were both suggested by Horace (*A. P.* 156):

Aetatis cuiusque notandi sunt tibi mores.

The words *deus immortalis haberi Dum cupit Empedocles* (*A. P.* 464 f.) called forth the implied negative (1, 28 f.):

*Quis foret humano conatus pectore tantum,
Invitis ut dis cuperet deus ipse videri?*

The descriptive lines pointing out one of the causes of changes in things (4, 423 f.):

Et nunc per scopulos, nunc campis labitur amnis,
Aut faciens iter aut quaerens fervetque ruitve,

as shown by nunc . . . nunc are a restatement of the verbal picture of Horace (Odes 3, 29, 34 f.). We have selected from another statement of Horace (ib. 4, 2, 7) the verbs to substitute for *urivte reditve*, for Manilius was too much of an artist to write *amnis urit* or to use *redit* with the forward moving mass. However, the verbs of Lucretius (1, 288 f.) *volvitque . . . ruit* would be equally appropriate. But however written it is far less graphic than the description which it was intended to reproduce.

D. Catullus and Tibullus.

The words of Catullus (64, 15 f.):

Emersere freti candenti e gurgite vultus
Aequoreae monstrum Nereides admirantes,

followed by *viderunt . . . mortales . . . nymphas*, seem to have lingered in the mind of Manilius, for he has (5, 434):

Nerea et aequoreas conantur visere nymphas,

and *Emersere fretis* (1, 163) adding *s* to the second word of Catullus. The appearance of the new mountain ranges seemed to the poet like the Nereides rising from the depths to gaze on the ships which were the first to burst into that unknown sea. Manilius portrays a similar scene (1, 87):

Et vagus in caecum penetravit navita pontum,

and this has the same subject and modifier as the similar statement in Tibullus (1, 3, 39 f.):

Nec vagus ignotis repetens compendia terris
Presserat externa navita merce ratem.

E. Cicero and Livy.

The words of Cicero are utilized in some lines,—a good illustration of the fitness of rhythmical elements for metrical purposes. *Eque suo dictator venit aratro* (4, 149) is a special application of the general statement of Cicero (*Pro Sex. Rosc. Amer.*

18, 50): Cum ab aratro arcessebantur qui consules fierent. The story of Orestes and Pylades as told by Cicero (de Am. 7, 24) reappears (2, 581 ff.) as an illustration of the rarity of friendship. Quibus enim nihil est in ipsis opis (de Sen. 2, 4) is put affirmatively, quibus omnis in ipsis Census erat (1, 772 f.), the prose rhythm of Cicero differing little from the poetic of Manilius. Intentum dirigit arcum (2, 171; cf. contento d. arcu (1, 269), drops the apologetic particle in intentum enim animum tamquam arcum (de Sen. 11, 37), just as in mentis oculos (4, 195 and 875; cf. 2, 122) for mentis, ut ita dicam, praestringit oculos (de Sen. 12, 42). The words spici ordine structam et . . . munitur vallo aristarum (id. 15, 51) furnished material for (5, 272):

Spica feret prae se vallantes corpus aristas.

Material seems to have been drawn from the de Natura Deorum as well as from the two essays. Divino flatu (1, 136) changes the noun in d. adflatu (N. D. 2, 66, 167), and divina sollertia (id. 2, 43, 110) may have suggested the noun for Manilius in 1, 73 and 95. Notice also aetherios cursus (2, 21, 54: 1, 282). The line in translation (2, 25, 65):

Qui terram tenero circumiectu amplectitur,

is changed (4, 596) with amplexibus for amplectitur, and orbem for terram. The thought in Somn. Scip. (8, 19), and more concisely stated in de Sen. (21, 78) nec principium . . . ne finem quidem habiturum esse, appears with neque principium . . . neque finis (1, 212, ff.). There is another noteworthy passage in the Somn. Scip. (3, 5): Omnibus qui patriam conservaverint . . . certum esse in caelo definitum locum, ubi beati aevo sempiterno fruuntur. The substance of this is put by Manilius in the form of a question (1, 758 ff.):

An fortes animae dignataque numina caelo
Corporibus resoluta suis, terraque remissa
Huc migrant ex orbe, suumque habitantia caelum
Aetherios vivunt annos mundoque fruuntur?

Nemesianus (1, 40) adapts the last line with sidereasque colunt in the first part, and has in the same poem (32 f.): suggerit herbas Mollis ager, lateque tacet nemus omne, as if adapting the

words of Lucretius and changing the scene in Manilius (see II. A. 4 med.).

A few collocations of Livy lingering in our mind seem to have lingered in the mind of Manilius also. *Fortuna per orbem Servitium imperiumque tulit* (1, 509 f.) is changed from *imperium servitiumque* (1, 25, 4), as *fallente solo declivia longa* (1, 240) and *devezo fallit vestigia clivo* (1, 676) from *via non recipiente vestigium et in prono citius pedes fallente* (21, 36, 7). *Romamque suismet Pugnantem membris* (4, 43 f.), and (1, 912):

Imperiumque suis confligit viribus ipsum,

have the thought, if not the words, in *iam pridem praevalentis populi vires se ipsae conficiunt* (Praef. 4). *Venatus non ille quidem* (5, 199) is such a change as one might expect from *non quidem tumultus fuit* in the famous 29th chapter of the first Book of Livy.

III. NON-ASTRONOMICAL.

Approximately one-half of the *Astronomica* is non-astronomical, and in the vocabulary there is little that is technical. It is for this reason that so many pieces from other writers could be appropriately fitted in. His mythological, historical and geographical material will be considered separately.

A. Mythological.

The long account of *Andromeda* (5, 540-610) is as clearly told as that by Ovid (*Met.* 4, 670 ff.), and the latter has nothing better than (559 ff.):

Ter circum Alcyones pinnis planxere volantes,
Fleveruntque tuos miserando carmine casus;

.
Ipsa levi flatu refovens pendentia membra
Aura per extremas resonavit flebile rupes.

Deucalion and *Phaethon* are incidentally mentioned (4, 833 ff.), and of the latter it is said (1, 735):

Fama etiam antiquis ad nos descendit ab annis,

as if Manilius had not read the story by Ovid. *Bellerophon* and *Salmoneus* are introduced, the latter in a noticeable piece of

rhetoric (5, 91 ff.), for five lines are inserted between the beginning, *Hinc mihi Salmoneus*, and the closing, *generatus possit haberi*. The ten-line description by Vergil (*Aen.* 6, 585 ff.) may have furnished the suggestion for the account, but *imitatus*: *imitatur* is all there is in common. *Ara* was established when the sons of the earth rose in rebellion against the gods, and the description has some points evidently drawn from the *Aetna*.

B. *Historical.*

Manilius mentions (3, 5 ff.), just as does the *Culex* (26), some things of which he will not sing, and the historical section (1, 762-804) takes the *Culex* (334-371) as a model. The beginning of the list of Greek heroes is the same in both works, *hic et . . . Atrides: atque hic . . . Atridas*, and that of the Romans practically so, *Horatia virtus: Horatia proles*. The gnat saw no heroes later than the Scipios, but Manilius brings the list down to Augustus, who is referred to several times, as we should expect in the work of a poet who was a follower of Vergil, and an admirer of the Emperor. We find also "*et censu Tullius oris Emeritus caelum*"; "*matrisque sub armis Miles Agrippa suae*," and "*Cato fortunae victor*." Cato is again praised (4, 87) *invictum devicta morte Catonem*. Juvenal selected both Pompey and Hannibal as examples of changes in the fortunes of men, but in this he was anticipated by Manilius who, for emphasis, sets forth the erstwhile honors of the former (4, 51 f.), and more than once (4, 37 ff.; 564 ff.; 658 ff.) refers to the great battles of the latter.

C. *Geographical.*

There is a compendium of geography (4, 595-817), and not more poetically and prominently does *Italia* stand out in the poetry of Vergil (*Georg.* 2, 136-173) than do the parts of *Europa* in the work of Manilius (4, 686 ff.):

Maxima terra viris et fecundissima doctis
Urbibus; in regnum florentes oris Athenae,
Sparta manu, Thebae divis et rege vel uno
Princeps Pella domus . . .

Italia in summa, quam rerum maxima Roma
Imposuit terris, caeloque adiungitur ipsa.

One of the noticeable parts is that illustrating the thesis *proprioque colore Formantur gentes* (712 f.). This has some points in common with the minor works of Tacitus, as *solidos . . . artus, coloratas . . . gentes, torti per tempora crines: magni artus . . . colorati vultus, torti plerumque crines* (Agr. 11, 4 f.). The poetry in line 820:

Et vomit Oceanus pontum sitiensque resorbet,

resembles a part of the prose in *Oceani . . . mare . . . multum fluminum . . . nec litore tenus adcrecere aut resorberi* (Agr. 10, 21 ff.). The first part of 716:

Gallia vicino minus est infecta rubore,

is like *Gallos vicinam* (Agr. 11, 10), and the participial usage in the latter part is the same as in *nullis . . . conubiis infectos* (Germ. 4, 2). These resemblances suggest the possibility that the poem may have been known to Tacitus.

IV. STYLE.

The unusually long normal sentence indicates that Manilius was a rhetorician as well as a poet, and for this reason some rhetorical touches will be given. He occasionally repeats different forms of the verb, as *sequiturque sequentem* (1, 304: Aen. 11, 695), *damnatus . . . damnavit* (1, 775), *capit aut captos* (2, 239), *recipitque receptus* (4, 351), and *fugeret . . . fugaret* (2, 73). Akin to this is the juxtaposition of different case forms of the same word in a score and a half of instances, as *vertex a vertice* (1, 594), *sidus sidere* (2, 98), *caedis caedes* (5, 669: Lucr. 3, 71 *caedem caede*). He is fond of alliterative devices, as in *ruptis fugientia flumina ripis* (4, 417), and has a rare (suggested) example of oxymoron, *discordia concors* (1, 142).

A. Variations.

After the fashion of Vergil who sometimes repeats lines or has only one word different, as *convectare* (7, 749): *comportare* (9, 613), changed to *praedasque reportant* (5, 188), and *Exportantque . . . praedas* (ib. 435), Manilius has many variations. The two-line description of Ceres and Bacchus (3, 152 f.):

Seu Cererem plena vincentem credita messe,
Aut repetat Bacchum per pingua musta fluentem,

is expanded to four lines (4, 734 ff.):

Et Cererem varia redeuntem messe per urbes,
Nec paribus siliquas referentem viribus omnes;
Nec te, Bacche, pari donantem munere terras,
Atque alias aliis fundentem colibus uvas.

The description in each line is centered around a present participle, but *per urbes*, and *terras* give to the second passage a sweep not suggested in the first. Some similarities in single lines are as follows:

- 1, 323: *Gnosia desertae fulgent monumenta puellae*;
- 5, 253: *Cara Ariadneae quondam monumenta coronae*;
- 1, 877: *Squalidaque effusi deplorant arva coloni*;
- 4, 400: *Annua solliciti consumment vota coloni*;
- 2, 127: *Quis neget esse nefas invitum prendere mundum*;
- 4, 21: *Fortunamve suis invitam prendere votis*.

For the meter's sake he has *crines . . . comas . . . capillis* (1, 835 f.; 5, 148 ff.), *ortu . . . cum merguntur* (5, 28), and *Tolle . . . Sustuleris* (5, 46 f.). As further illustrations of rhetorical variations within a narrow compass we give the changes rung on Vergil's *omnia vincit Amor* (Ecl. 10, 9), and *labor omnia vicit* (Georg. 1, 145): *poenas iam noxia vincit* (2, 602); *ratio omnia vincit* (4, 932), *curas industria vincit* (5, 172); *omnia sollertia vicit* (1, 95); *vicit natura periculum* (5, 309); and the imitation *locus omnia vertit* (4, 865). *Vicerat*, not with abstract subject, is also used in the fifth foot (1, 623; 2, 4; 3, 16; 4, 746 and 762).

B. Arrangement of Pairs of Nouns and Adjectives.

In 525 instances of successive nouns with adjectives, one adjective comes first in 86 per cent, and both in 55 per cent. Such arrangements, a marked feature in Catullus and in the *Ciris*, show that Manilius followed a recognized plan of placing colorful words first in the line. Of the twelve possible arrangements illustrations will be given of the six with adjective preceding, and of the two most prominent with noun first:

- 5, 388: *Quorum omnis parvo consistit passere census*;

- 4, 83: Mutuaque armati coeunt in vulnera fratres;
 1, 412: Tunc Procyon, veloxque lepus; tum nobilis Argo;
 1, 296: Maioremque Helice maior decircinat arcum;
 5, 70: Qua gelidus Boreas Aquilonibus instat acutis;
 3, 14: Non annosa canam Messanae bella nocentis;
 2, 814 f.: Et decus omne . . . et varios honores;
 3, 662: Tum Liber gravida descendit plenus ab ulmo.

There is chiasmus in some of these arrangements, but taken as a whole, it does not stand out prominently, as in *lusus agiles agilemque vigorem* (5, 110) and (5, 231):

Nec talis mirere artis in sidere tali.

Notice also *surgentem pariter pariterque cadentem* (1, 205, but anaphoric 1, 241) as in Vergil (*Aen.* 8, 545).

C. *Similes.*

Manilius makes but little use of the simile to embellish his poem, although he has three crowded together (1, 705 ff.) *ac veluti . . . discernit semita . . . ut freta canescunt . . . utque circinat Iris . . . Sic superincumbit . . . limes*. Two similes fill 33 lines (2, 755-787):

Ut rudibus pueris monstratur litera primum,

(ten lines), *sic* the poet must arrange his work (seven lines), *ac velut* cities rise (twelve lines), *sic* must my material be presented (four lines). The work closes with a simile of twelve lines (*utque . . . sic etiam*) in which the republic on earth is compared to *quaedam respublica in mundo*.

D. *Special words.*

Manilius transferred a few Greek words: *Athlon*, *daemonie*, *dodecatemorion*, *horizon*, *octotropos* and *trigonus*. He seems to be the only author to use *decircino* (1, 236; 3, 326 and 352), and three adjectives *delassabile pectus* (4, 242), *indelassato vigore* (5, 63), and *glomerabilis* (1, 221). He was the first or among the first to use *anguipes*, *commilitium*, *genitura*, *horoscopo*, *normalis*, *nutricia(n.)*, *transmeo*, *triplico* and *vernalis*.

V. CONCLUSION.

Quintilian does not mention Manilius, either because his work was not known to him, or because it did not contain material

suitable for his purposes. But his poem may have been known to Tacitus, certainly his assertion to Caesar (1, 10):

Das animum, viresque facis ad tanta canenda,
was taken over by Lucan (1, 66):

Tu satis ad vires Romana in carmina dandas.

When dealing with the dodecatemoria, octotropos and triangula signa, although they may have dactylic nimbleness, he could not invest his theme with poetic interest any more than he could have done by a metrical trigonometry. But he deftly colored the descriptive portions with the coloring of many others, and in his work each *purpureus pannus* is as bright as it was in theirs. But in doing this he showed himself as a reflector rather than an originator, and in the poetical firmament a satellite rather than a primary body. And even as the movements of satellites present phases worthy of study, so does Manilius in his own orbit as well as in his relation to others.

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TIBULLUS, MESSALLA AND THE VIA LATINA.

[By proposing a new interpretation of some verses of Tibullus, this paper attempts to identify more certainly than formerly the road which M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus repaired after his triumph ex Gallia in September, 27 B. C.]

The seventh elegy of the first book of Tibullus is a birthday poem dedicated to the poet's great patron, M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus,¹ who triumphed ex Gallia on September 25, 27 B. C.² as a reward for his successful suppression of the revolt of the Aquitanians.³ Whatever the date on which Messalla celebrated his birthday, it seems clear from Tibullus' poem that it was not long after the date of the triumph, if not on the same day. The poem must therefore be dated not very long after September 25, 27 B. C.

At the close of the poem (vv. 55-56), Tibullus expresses the hope that Messalla will have progeny who will enhance the deeds of their father, and then adds these verses:

nec taceat monumenta viae, quem Tuscula tellus	57
candidaque antiquo detinet Alba lare.	
namque opibus congesta tuis hic glarea dura	
sternitur, hic apta iungitur arte silex.	
te canit agricola, magna cum venerit Vrbe	
serus inoffensum rettuleritque pedem. ⁴	62

The inhabitant of the Tusculan land and of Alba, particularly the farmer returning from Rome late at night, must be thankful to Messalla for the road which he would seem to have built or to have repaired, somewhere in the Alban Hills. As Schulze⁵ has rightly pointed out, the fact that Tibullus has used the present tense in the verbs *sternitur* and *iungitur* (v. 60) indicates that

¹ Though the spelling of his name is given in the manuscripts both as Messalla and Messala, the epigraphical evidence, which is not subject to corruption to the same extent as are literary works, is in favour of the former. See *C. I. L.* i 1, 2nd ed., p. 50, no. 87; p. 201, no. 40; vi 1375, 29782, 29789, for the longer spelling. In one inscription (*C. I. L.* i 1, 2nd ed., p. 61) the abbreviated form MESSAL· seems to point to the shorter form.

² *C. I. L.* i 1, 2nd ed., p. 50, no. 87.

³ Appian, *B. C.* iv 38.

⁴ The text is that of F. W. Levy, Leipsig, 1927.

⁵ K. P. Schulze, *Römische Elegiker*, 5th ed., Berlin, 1910, *ad loc.*

the work of construction was still going on at the time of the composition of the poem. Hence, the date of the undertaking must have been soon after September, 27 B. C.

The editors of Tibullus have, with two exceptions to be noted below, generally held to the view that Messalla repaired the Via Latina, either wholly or in part. Those who specify that the work was only a part include P. A. de Golbéry (Paris, 1826), P. Martinon (Paris, 1895), K. F. Smith, (New York, 1913),⁶ and J. P. Postgate (London, 2nd ed., 1929),⁷ while the others do not limit the extent of the work. These are W. Ramsay (Glasgow, 1840),⁸ R. Schultz,⁹ P. J. Meier (Braunschweig, 1889), K. Jacoby,¹⁰ G. G. Ramsay, J. B. Carter, G. Némethy (Budapest, 1905) and K. P. Harrington.¹¹

It may be noted in passing that Smith¹² does not cite the evidence for the statement that Messalla "performed the work so thoroughly that more than a century later . . . it was a proverb of durability. A rare apotheosis for a road commissioner." He is probably thinking of two epigrams of Martial in which Messalla's name is mentioned. The pertinent lines are:

⁶ He inaccurately states that the Via Latina "passed between Tusculum on the left and the Alban Hills on the right . . ." Tusculum was situated, of course, in the Alban Hills. It is probable that the error arose from a mistranslation of the term 'Mons Albanus' which denotes the highest peak, the Alban Mount, now called Monte Cavo. The same error appears in K. Jacoby's *Anthologie aus den Elegikern der Römer*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1894; in Schulze's edition, *op. cit.*, and in J. Hammer's *Prolegomena to an edition of the Panegyricus Messalae*, Albany, New York, 1925, 81.

⁷ He is in error in stating that Augustus rebuilt the Via Aemilia. See p. 346.

⁸ He wrongly states that the junction of the Via Latina with the Via Appia was at Beneventum, instead of at Casilinum. This error is repeated by G. G. Ramsay (3rd ed., Oxford, 1900); J. B. Carter (New York, 1901), and by Smith, *op. cit.*

⁹ *Quaestiones in Tibulli librum I chronologicae*, Fürstenwald, 1887, 23-24.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* He says that the Via Latina passed through the valley of the Liris, which is true, but it is some distance farther on than the region of the Alban Hills that this is true.

¹¹ R. Burn, *Roman literature in relation to Roman art*, London, 1888, 252, cited by Harrington, merely quotes Tibullus without comment upon the identity of the road in question.

¹² *Op. cit.*, 35.

. . . teritur noster ubique liber;
 et cum rupta situ Messalae saxa iacebunt
 altaque cum Licini marmora pulvis erunt,
 me tamen ora legent et secum plurimus hospes
 ad patrias sedes carmina nostra feret.

(viii 3 4-8)

marmora Messallae findit caprificus et audax
 dimidios Crispi mulio ridet equos:
 at chartis nec furta nocent et saecula prosunt,
 solaque non norunt haec monumenta mori.¹³

(x 2 9-12)

Smith's predecessors have in several instances thought that the phrases 'Messalae saxa' and 'marmora Messallae' referred to the building of the road mentioned by Tibullus. It is barely possible that the former might apply to a road, if taken from its context, but the phrase 'Licini marmora' in the next line and 'marmora Messallae' in the other epigram, the theme of which is similar, cannot apply to a road, since 'marmora' were not used in roads by the Romans, and a caprificus would not be allowed to grow in the midst of an important highway in Martial's day. He must then be speaking of a building with marble decoration, probably of a tomb.¹⁴

Writers on the career of Messalla have accepted the same view.¹⁵

A statement of Suetonius (*Aug.* 30) may be cited as indirect confirmation: Quo autem facilius undique urbs adiretur desumpta sibi Flaminia via Arimino tenus munienda reliquas triumphalibus viris ex manubiali pecunia sternendas distribuit. Dio Cassius (liii 22) points out that the roads were in bad condition through long neglect during the period of the civil wars, adding that none of the senatorial party did as Augustus wished, but that, the work being done, the imperial treasury had to pay for it. It is likely that Dio is wrong in making this last statement, inasmuch as we know from an inscription¹⁶ that

¹³ The text is that of W. M. Lindsay, Oxford, 1902.

¹⁴ This has been shown conclusively by Hammer, *op. cit.*, 82.

¹⁵ See the dissertations of L. Wiese (Berlin, 1829, p. 82), I. M. J. Valetton (Groningen, 1874, p. 51), L. Fontaine (Versailles, 1878, p. 50), and Hammer, *op. cit.*, 80-82, and *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* iii, p. 366. Hammer limits the work to a part of the Via Latina, while the others do not limit it.

¹⁶ *C. I. L.* x 6895. Schulze, *op. cit.*, cites this stone as evidence that

C. Calvisius Sabinus repaired the Via Latina at another point, and that L. Arruntius did the same also at another point is deduced from a second stone.¹⁷ It would therefore seem reasonable that the Via Latina was divided into several sections for repairs, and that C. Calvisius Sabinus and L. Arruntius repaired two sections, while a third was probably assigned to Messalla in the neighbourhood of the city. There exists, however, no direct evidence independent of Tibullus for Messalla's part, and it must be admitted that Tibullus does not specifically name the road.

This view of the passage does not, however, take into consideration the topographical details which cause great difficulty. With this, the topographers of the Roman Campagna have long struggled. If the inhabitant of Alba is to be thankful for the road, then the most natural highway would be the Via Appia, since this latter road connected the site of Alba¹⁸ with Rome by an almost straight line, and was, in addition, from the engineering point of view, the best road from Rome to the southeast. Against the identification with the Via Appia, however, it must be said that the 'Tuscula tellus' would not be reached by this highway, and possibly no single main road suits all of the requirements of Tibullus' words.¹⁹

To avoid these difficulties, several theories have been proposed by the topographers. The views of Antonio Nibby²⁰ who believed that Tibullus was speaking of a road which diverged far from the Via Latina near the tenth milestone (the modern Villa Senni) to approach Tusculum by way of Frascati, and of

Messalla reconstructed the Via Latina, but his name is not mentioned in the text.

¹⁷ C. I. L. x 5055.

¹⁸ The exact site of Alba is in some doubt, but the arguments for placing it at Castel Gandolfo, on the western shore of the Alban Lake, which are discussed at length by Thomas Ashby, *Alba Longa*, *Journal of Philology*, XXVII (1901), 37-51, and briefly in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, V (1910), 277, seem to the present writer conclusive.

¹⁹ Another road which gave access to the Alban Hills from Rome was the Via Labicana, but it was too far to the north to satisfy any of the conditions.

²⁰ *Analisi storico-topografico-antiquaria della carta dei dintorni di Roma*, 2nd ed., Rome, 1848, iii 596.

Luigi Canina²¹ who identified our road with the modern Via Tuscolana²² which is at present the most direct route from Rome to Frascati, need not long detain us, as neither road would suit the requirement of Alba.

Antonio Rocchi²³ proposed the solution that Messalla repaired both the Via Appia and the Via Latina in the region between Rome and the Alban Hills, and this theory was accepted by V. Gardthausen²⁴ as well. This proposal would solve the problem nicely if it could be confirmed by other considerations. Rocchi is sharply criticized by A. Cartault who says that he "paraît ignorer les éléments de la critique."²⁵

Another view is that Messalla's work consisted of the construction of the Via Cavona²⁶ which runs northeast from the Via Appia to the Via Praenestina, crossing the Via Latina near the tenth milestone,²⁷ and in general skirting the northwest extremity of the lava-flows of the Alban volcano. G. B. De Rossi²⁸ was able to identify as belonging to the family of Messalla a villa which lies in the northern angle of the intersection of the Via Cavona and the modern highroad to Marino (ancient Castrimoenium), and so was led to the identification of the Via Cavona as Messalla's work. This road seemed to him to be the only certainly ancient line of communication between Alba and the Tusculan territory. He therefore gave the name of 'Via Valeria' to the Via Cavona, although this name is not attested for antiquity in this region. The name has been accepted also

²¹ *Descrizione dell'antico Tuscolo*, Rome, 1841, 65-66.

²² The description of this road, and a discussion of the question of its antiquity, will form part of the writer's history of Tusculum, now in preparation.

²³ Sull'interpretazione di un passo di Tibullo in rapporto ad antiche vie, *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto*, 1895, 337-350, also printed separately, Rome, 1895.

²⁴ *Augustus und seine Zeit*, Leipzig, 1891-1904, i 989.

²⁵ *A propos du Corpus Tibullianum*, Paris, 1906, 465, note.

²⁶ The name is modern. According to G. Tomassetti, *Della Campagna Romana. Illustrazione delle Vie Labicana e Prenestina*, Rome, 1907, 34, the road is at times called the 'Via Marittima.' For a part of its course, it is now in use for vehicular traffic:

²⁷ This must not be confused with the road advocated by Nibby, mentioned above, p. 347.

²⁸ Tuscolo, le ville tuscolane e le loro antiche memorie cristiane, *Bollettino di archeologia cristiana*, 1872, 152.

by both of the Tomassetti,²⁹ by R. Lanciani,³⁰ and by G. Cozza-Luzi,³¹ while Ashby merely accepts the identification without adopting the name.³² Schulze³³ appears to identify Messalla's road with the Via Latina and at the same time with the Via Cavona, which is impossible, and he also derives 'Cavona' from 'Corvinus' which is very unlikely.³⁴

F. Grossi-Gondi³⁵ felt that the indications given by Tibullus made it necessary for the road to connect Alba and the Tusculan territory with Rome, in which view he is probably correct, and so he called the Via Cavona the 'Via Albano-Labicanense.' Two editors of Tibullus, P. Silvius (Paris, 1685) and I. G. Huschke (London, 1822),³⁶ while not mentioning the Via Cavona by name, accepted the identification with some road connecting Tusculum with Alba.

Against the Via Cavona theory there are several overwhelming objections: (1) the presence of the villa of Messalla's family is no evidence for the road; (2) the course of the Via Cavona is such as to indicate that it is a road of greater antiquity than the age of Messalla, while its length is not sufficiently great, nor in Tibullus' time could it have had such an importance as to warrant the praise of the poet, had Messalla merely repaired it; (3) the Via Cavona is by no means the only ancient road, nor even the most direct, which connected the two regions in

²⁹ G. Tomassetti, *La via Latina nel medio evo*, Rome, 1886, 74. G. and F. Tomassetti, *La campagna romana antica, medioevale, e moderna*, Rome, 1926, iv, 168-169.

³⁰ *Bullettino comunale*, 1884, 195; 1905, 131, tav. vi.

³¹ Il Tusculano di M. Tullio Cicerone, *Giornale Arcadico*, N. S. XLV [CXC of the whole series] (1864), 97. This was also published separately, Rome, 1866.

³² *Papers of the British School at Rome*, I (1901), 176; *Journal of Philology*, XXVII (1901), 39, note 2.

³³ *Op. cit.*

³⁴ Ashby also rejected Schulze's view in a conversation with the writer. It is unlikely that the word comes from 'Cabum', the name of a settlement near the site of Rocca di Papa, which apparently survives in 'Monte Cavo', but along the road just southwest of the Via Latina there is a ruined mill which is called 'Mola di Cavona.' As the mill is in a hollow, the name may carry that idea.

³⁵ *Il Tusculano nell'età classica*, Rome, 1908, 49-50, and map.

³⁶ These are both Delphin editions. The second is probably merely copying the first, as the wording is very similar.

question; and (4) those who hold this theory have not appeared to know the passages in Suetonius and Dio, cited above.

Nor will it help matters to assume that one or the other of the two sites to the east of the Alban Lake, either Palazzuolo or Coste Caselle, was really the site of Alba, for the Via Appia would perhaps be the most direct route from Rome to Alba even if this were true.

It has hitherto escaped the notice of writers on this passage in Tibullus that in the time of the poet there can have been no town on the Via Appia named Alba.³⁷ The phrase 'candida . . . Alba' (v. 58) can not therefore mean the town, but the region may well have kept the name long after the town itself had disappeared.³⁸ Hence, our problem is no nearer solution because of the disappearance of the town.

There is, however, still another fact which Ashby apparently observed, though he did not apply it to the point in question, since he himself accepted the Via Cavona theory. This is that the single word 'Alba' is occasionally used to denote the Alban Mount itself. Plutarch (*Iul. Caesar* 60); ³⁹ καὶ καταβαίνοντος ἐξ Ἀλβης Καίσαρος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐτόλμησαν αὐτὸν ἀσπασσάσθαι βασιλέα is an instance of this loose use of the word. The same use also occurs in Lucan (i 198): et residens celsa Latiaris Iuppiter Alba, and in Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* ii 304: Iam nemus Egeriae, iam te ciet altus ab Alba Iuppiter, et soli non mitis Aricia regi. We have here three independent examples of the use of Alba for Mons Albanus, two of them from Roman poets. It therefore seems reasonable to interpret Tibullus' words in the same way. In the only other instance in Tibullus where the word occurs, it means Alba Longa, and the full form of the name is given.⁴⁰ From one example, however, nothing can be proved,

³⁷ This has been demonstrated conclusively by Ashby in the article cited above. The ancient references are Livy i 29; Appian *B. C.* i 69; Pliny *N. H.* iii 5, 63-69.

³⁸ The Via Labicana kept its original name long after it ceased to go to Labici.

³⁹ From Suetonius (*Iul.* 79): Nam cum in sacrificio Latinarum revertente eo inter inmodicas ac novas populi acclamationes quidam e turba statuæ eius corona lauream candida fascia praeligata inposuisset . . ., it is clear that Plutarch is speaking of Caesar's return from the Alban Mount.

⁴⁰ ii 5, 50.

but this single example is perfectly consistent with the interpretation proposed.

If our view be correct, the 'antiquus lar' of the poem must be regarded as the temple of Jupiter Latiaris on the summit of the Alban Mount, which is possible.⁴¹ This temple was one of the earliest of the Latin nation and may be thought of as the shrine of the 'deus indiges' of the Latins, from whom Rome sprang. If so, the word 'lare' may be appropriate.⁴² The epithet 'candida' as applied to Alba has been explained by Schulze⁴³ and Smith⁴³ as a reference to the limestone of the region. The name 'Alba' itself ought to be sufficient to suggest to the Roman of the poet's day, whatever may have been the origin of the name, the idea of brightness, and it is reducing poetry to the absurd to see here a reference to limestone. Moreover, it is very unlikely that any limestone exists among the native rocks of the region. None exists in the territory of Tusculum nearby, and the tufa, sperone, peperino and selce to be found there would never suggest 'candida'.⁴⁴ If the villas of the Romans in the region, or the temple of Jupiter itself were decorated with travertine (limestone from the Sabine Hills) or with marble, the sun shining on them would reflect a brilliant light which could be seen from Rome. This is true of the modern buildings in the region.⁴⁵

The most direct main route from Rome to the Alban Mount would have been the Via Latina as far as the twelfth milestone and thence by less important thoroughfares to the site of the modern town of Rocca di Papa. It is true that the so-called via triumphalis ascends the Alban Mount from the other side, i. e., the southwest, and is most easily reached from the Via Appia, but we are dealing here with farmers (v. 61), and not with Roman generals returning from triumphs. The modern Via

⁴¹ See G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, 2nd ed., Munich, 1912, 40, 124-125, 190.

⁴² Tibullus might have used 'deo' in the same metrical position, had he so wished.

⁴³ *Op. cit.*

⁴⁴ Limestone deposits in volcanic regions are, however, not unknown.

⁴⁵ There are now at least no remains of travertine or marble at the temple of Jupiter Latiaris, but the remains of these materials may have been removed elsewhere.

Anagnina parallels the Via Latina to a point a few kilometres beyond Grottaferrata, and from Grottaferrata the modern 'autostrada' ascends to Rocca di Papa. It is therefore most likely that Tibullus is referring to a reconstruction of the Via Latina, and the statements of the editors are confirmed.

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TWO NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

I. THE ARREST AND DEATH OF CALLISTHENES

[The arrest of Callisthenes is placed at Bactra in the spring of 327 B. C.; he was put to death probably later, but the manner of his death cannot now be determined.]

Callisthenes of Olynthus accompanied Alexander on the expedition which crossed from Europe into Asia in 334 B. C. He was the official historian, and until his arrest wrote a finished history on the march, basing it in large part on the Ephemerides or official daily journal. After the death of Alexander, several histories based in part on Callisthenes, notably those of Ptolemy and Aristobulus, were written of the expedition. All of these works, together with other histories written in the next century or two, have, except for some fragments, entirely disappeared. Our knowledge of Alexander's expedition, then, is derived chiefly from five secondary historians who wrote several centuries after his death: Arrian, by far the best, since his history is based to a large degree on Ptolemy and Aristobulus and thus on Callisthenes and the Ephemerides; and Diodorus, Curtius, Justin and Plutarch who drew from various sources.

In a recent study,¹ I have shown that if we should draw up in parallel columns, assigning a column to each of the five secondary historians, a complete list of the places visited by Alexander, this fact would stand out: The list, which I shall refer to as the itinerary, may be divided into three divisions. In the first and third divisions the authors are in substantial agreement, but not in the second. It is clear that in the first and third divisions the later historians drew from a common source, while in the second they did not. This common source was directly or indirectly the Ephemerides, and the evidence briefly is as follows: The first division of the itinerary ends in the year 327 B. C., the year of Callisthenes' arrest. Since Callisthenes wrote his history on the march basing it in large part on the Ephemerides, as I have remarked above, the Ephemerides were preserved up to this point through Callisthenes. During the

¹ *The Ephemerides of Alexander's Expedition*, Brown University Studies, 1932.

next years the secretaries of course continued to write the Ephemerides, but when, on the banks of the Hydaspes in India, the Ephemerides were destroyed, there existed no other contemporary source for this period. This explains the disagreement in the second division of the itinerary, which extends from Callisthenes' arrest to the Hydaspes. From the Hydaspes to the end of the expedition, the third division, there is once more agreement between the secondary historians, for the Ephemerides, preserved in this division, formed the basis of later accounts.

The position of Callisthenes, then, in the Alexander tradition is clear, for his history, based in part on the Ephemerides, is, directly or indirectly, the source² for the histories of Alexander's expedition to the time of his arrest. It is therefore important to determine as accurately as possible the place and date of his arrest and, if possible, of his death.

The account of Callisthenes' arrest is given by Arrian, Curtius, Plutarch and Justin; a lacuna occurs in Diodorus at this point, although from the table of contents of Book XVII it seems clear that he wrote of it. The general scene is Bactria-Sogdiana, where chronology and Alexander's movements are not always clear.³

Arrian tells the story as follows:⁴ Anaxarchus, with an eye to winning the king's favor, succeeded by his sophistry in rousing Alexander from the depression caused by the death of Cleitus. Sometime afterward, when a discussion of proscynesis took place, Anaxarchus spoke in support of it, while Callisthenes opposed it and thus incurred Alexander's displeasure. Not long after this, Hermolaus and the other pages were surprised in a plot against Alexander. Callisthenes, according to

² The accuracy of details in the first division of the itinerary indicates that the source of the five later historians was ultimately the Ephemerides, but, since the agreement ends with the arrest of Callisthenes, it is evident that historians had the facts through Callisthenes and not directly from the Ephemerides. There are other reasons too for believing that Callisthenes was the source of later writers; for example, cf. my article "The Seer Aristander", *American Journal of Philology*, L (1929) and an article by Professor William K. Prentice, "Callisthenes, the Original Historian of Alexander", *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LIV (1923).

³ On certain questions of chronology, cf. my article "When did Alexander reach the Hindu Kush?", *American Journal of Philology*, LI (1930).

⁴ IV, 8 f.

Ptolemy and Aristobulus, was implicated by the pages, but, says Arrian, most writers do not agree with this and assert that Alexander, from his hatred of Callisthenes, was only too glad to believe the worst about him. Most writers, concludes Arrian, say that Hermolaus and those arrested with him (Callisthenes included, presumably) were stoned to death at once, but Aristobulus says that Callisthenes was carried about with the army in fetters and afterwards died a natural death; while Ptolemy says he was put upon the rack and then hanged. Although he tells the story in connection with Alexander's visit to Zariaspa, Arrian adds that the conspiracy of the pages did not take place at that time but later.

It is not a difficult matter to decide where Cleitus died and where Callisthenes was arrested, for Arrian and Curtius supplement each other. From Zariaspa⁵ Alexander's next important move, according to both authors,⁶ was to Maracanda, rather late in the year 328 B. C. Curtius specifically states that Cleitus met his death here. That he and Arrian are both speaking of the same visit to Maracanda is confirmed by the fact that each reports similar incidents in connection with it: Artabazus is relieved of his provincial governorship on account of age; Hephaestion is dispatched on a mission, in Arrian, to plant colonies in Sogdiana, in Curtius, to get winter supplies in Bactria.

The winter of 328-327 B. C. was spent at Nautaca. The next spring, according to Arrian,⁷ Alexander went to Bactra. Arrian states that the tragedy of Callisthenes and the pages occurred here. Curtius says⁸ that Alexander came into the district over which Oxyartes was governor, and we know from Arrian⁹ that Oxyartes was a Bactrian. Curtius now tells of the conspiracy of the pages and the arrest of Callisthenes. There cannot be any doubt that Arrian and Curtius are speaking of the same place, for each reports similar business at this time; for example, Alexander sends Craterus against certain rebels, Catanes and Austanes.

⁵ The same as Bactra, for Arrian (IV, 1, 5) speaks of it as the chief city of Bactria. According to Arrian (IV, 7, 3) and Curtius (VII, 10, 10) Alexander at this point sent Bessus to Ecbatana to be put to death. Previously (Arr., III, 30, 5), Alexander had sent Bessus to Bactra.

⁶ Arr., IV, 16, 3; Curt., VIII, 1, 19.

⁷ IV, 22, 1.

⁸ VIII, 4, 21.

⁹ IV, 18, 4.

All the evidence points to the fact that Cleitus died at Maracanda in 328 B. C., and that Callisthenes was arrested at Bactra in the spring of 327 B. C.

Let us now consider Callisthenes' complicity in the plot. Curtius says that Hermolaus defended Callisthenes. Arrian, reporting Ptolemy and Aristobulus, says that the youths declared that Callisthenes instigated them, but adds that most authors disagree with this and say that Alexander readily believed the worst about Callisthenes because of his dislike for him. Plutarch says ¹⁰ that Alexander wrote at once to Craterus, Attalus and Alcetas that the youths alone were responsible, but that later in a letter to Antipater Alexander accused Callisthenes. I think these letters may be genuine for this reason: Arrian states ¹¹ that during this stop at Bactra Alexander sent Craterus with the infantry brigades of Polyperchon, Attalus and Alcetas (and they probably commanded their own troops) against the rebels Catanes and Austanes. In other words, these men were off on an expedition at the time of Callisthenes' arrest and therefore Alexander could have written them. It was natural that Alexander, with the deaths of Philotas, Parmenio and Cleitus laid at his door, should hesitate to accuse Callisthenes so soon thereafter, especially since Callisthenes, in opposing the proscynesis, had voiced the sentiments of his associates.¹² But in a letter to Antipater, back in Macedonia, he could express his opinions openly. I believe, then, on the evidence of Ptolemy and Aristobulus, that the pages accused Callisthenes of plotting; and on the strength of the two letters I think that Alexander privately believed him guilty, but would not take severe measures at once.

Callisthenes' fate remains to be considered. Plutarch says ¹³ that, according to some, he was hanged by Alexander's orders, presumably at once, but that according to others he was bound and died of sickness, while Chares declares that he was carried about bound in fetters for seven months, and died from obesity and a disease caused by lice. Arrian quotes Aristobulus as saying that Callisthenes was carried around in fetters and afterwards died a natural death, but adds that Ptolemy states he

¹⁰ *Alex.* 55, 3.

¹¹ *IV*, 22, 1.

¹² *Arr.*, *IV*, 12.

¹³ *Loc. cit.*

was hanged. The difference between the statements of Ptolemy and Aristobulus is one of method of death, not necessarily one of time. The testimony of Ptolemy and Aristobulus is the only valuable testimony we have; and I think that the evidence for a lapse of time between the arrest and death of Callisthenes is further strengthened by the two letters. If Alexander wrote Craterus, Attalus and Alcetas that the youths alone were responsible, Callisthenes could hardly have been dead at the moment. Furthermore, in the letter written *later* to Antipater, he says that he "*will* punish" Callisthenes. Diogenes Laertius says¹⁴ that Callisthenes was shut up in an iron cage, covered with lice, and finally given to a lion and so died. The manner of Callisthenes' death will probably forever remain a mystery.

II. JUSTIN XII, 15, 1-2 AND 12

[These two passages reflect the Ephemerides as the ultimate source.]

The Ephemerides, as I have indicated, seem to have been a day by day record of matters pertaining to Alexander and his expedition. They were kept by Eumenes of Cardia, the ἀρχιγραμματεὺς, and Diodotus of Erythrae. We have, in addition to some references to the Ephemerides, a few extant fragments. It is not my purpose to discuss the Ephemerides here, since I have already done that in the study mentioned above, but rather to elaborate one point touched upon at that time. The extant fragments of the Ephemerides, as has long been known, are to be found in Arrian,¹⁵ Plutarch,¹⁶ and Aelian,¹⁷ but it seems clear to me that Justin XII, 15 1-2 and 12 definitely reflect the Ephemerides as the ultimate source and therefore should be added to the known fragments.

The extant fragments deal with the last days of Alexander and, in Arrian and Plutarch especially, trace the daily progress of Alexander's fatal illness. The entries for the 25th and the 27th of the month Daesius are important for the present discussion. Arrian says that on the 25th¹⁸ "Alexander, being

¹⁴ *Life of Aristotle*, 6.

¹⁵ VII, 24, 4-26, 3.

¹⁶ *Alex.* 75, 3-76, 4.

¹⁷ *V. H.* III, 23.

¹⁸ The problem of equating the accounts of Arrian and Plutarch is not considered here.

now in a dangerous condition, was brought from the park to the palace. When his officers entered the room, he knew them, but no longer spoke, being speechless. That night he had a high fever." Plutarch gives essentially the same account. In Justin we read that "on the 6th day (*sexta die*) Alexander was speechless." For the 27th Arrian gives in part the following: "The next day he had a high fever. In addition to this, the *Ephemerides* also tell of the desire of the soldiers to see Alexander, some wishing to see him while still alive, others thinking him dead. Many forced their way in. It is said (*λέγουσι*) that when the soldiers passed by him, he could not speak, but greeted each with his right hand, raising his head with difficulty and giving a sign with his eyes." We find substantially the same account in Plutarch. Justin says: "On the 4th day (*quarto die*), Alexander, finding that death was certain, calmed the soldiers who were making a tumult and thought him the victim of a conspiracy; and having been carried to the highest part of the city, admitted them to his presence and gave them his right hand to kiss."

Justin's History is always difficult, not only because it is a severe abridgment of one by Pompeius Trogus, but because the entire background is of doubtful value. In his account of Alexander's death, however, we do find amid the worthless anecdote the two statements quoted above. It is perfectly clear, I think, that these statements are essentially the same as those in Arrian and Plutarch for the 25th and the 27th of the month; and were it not for the fact that I have reversed the sequence of the two statements, we could, without further comment, say that here at least the *Ephemerides* were the ultimate source. Since Justin is reporting the progress of Alexander's illness, naturally the events of the 6th day would come after those of the 4th, but in reality in the Greek original the sequence of events was the reverse. The Greek original gave the days of the month and did not date from the beginning of Alexander's sickness. Thus it came about that the *ἕκτη* (*φθίνοντος*—the 25th of the month) and *τετάρτη* (*φθίνοντος*—the 27th) of the Greek original were twisted in the Latin to mean "on the sixth day from the beginning of the illness" and "on the fourth day." This done, Justin (or Trogus) placed the events of the two days in their proper sequence. To put it another way, if we

translate the "quarto die" and the "sexta¹⁹ die" of Justin back into the Greek, we obtain two dates, the events of which are essentially the same as those in Arrian and Plutarch on those days. These two passages in Justin, then, should be added to the extant fragments of the Ephemerides.

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¹⁹ As for the gender of *sexta*, I can only suggest that once again the Greek original has influenced the Latin.

THE SACRED TREASURE AND THE RATE OF MANUMISSION.

[This note suggests emending *nongenta* to *nonaginta* in Orosius 6, 15, 5 and *et* to *i. e.* in Pliny 33, 55. The conclusion is that the *aerarium sanctius* of Rome contained gold and silver in 49 B. C. valued at about 12,000,000 denarii, that Sulla had emptied the treasury in 82 B. C., and that the average number of manumissions between 81 and 49 B. C. was nearly 16,000 per year.]

Numerals were so recklessly copied by the medieval scribes that historians in encountering inconsistencies in them frequently give up in despair and omit what might prove to be important information. In attempting an account of Caesar's finances one comes at once upon the confused statements of the amount which he found in the "sacred treasury" in 49 B. C.¹ Pliny (33, 55) has the amount as follows: *laterum aureorum XV, argenteorum XXX et in numerato [CCC]*. This is the text given by Mayhoff, as well as by Sillig, based upon a fair agreement of the better manuscripts. But Pliny does not tell how much the *lateres* weighed. Orosius (6, 15, 5) is somewhat more definite, giving—probably from Livy—definite weights: *auri pondo quattuor milia centum triginta et quinque, argenti prope nongenta milia*. If the gold mentioned by Pliny (15,000 *lateres*) was the same as the 4135 pounds of Orosius, each *later* would weigh about $3\frac{1}{2}$ ounces and would coin into 10 aurei of the type last coined, that is, the aureus of Pompey weighing one thirty-sixth of a pound (Bahrfeldt, *Röm. Goldmünzen*, p. 29). Hence the *lateres* would be worth about 1,000 sesterces each. This fact, since the Romans regularly reckoned large amounts in 1,000 sesterces, is striking enough to justify the belief that Orosius and Pliny are correct about the gold.

The statements about the silver are not as easy to control, but there is a coincidence here also that seems significant: the "30,000,000 *numerato*" in Pliny happens to correspond with Orosius, if we read *prope nonaginta* for *prope nongenta* in the latter; for 90,000 pounds of silver will make just over 30,000,000 sesterces. This coincidence will probably justify the emenda-

¹ For the seizure of the treasury see Dio 41, 17; Cic. *Att.* 7, 21; App. *B. C.* 2, 41; Plut. *Caes.* 35; *Caes. B. C.* 1, 14.

tion, especially since *nongenta* (about 450 tons!) is absurd, as Mommsen says (*Münzwesen* 401).

Then what are we to do with Pliny's 30,000 *lateres* of silver for which Orosius has nothing? If silver bullion, like gold, was stored in pieces worth 1,000 sesterces, then the striking conclusion emerges that the 30,000 *lateres* make precisely the same amount as the *numerato*; in other words the *numerato* is an explicative calculation of the value of the *lateres*; and instead of *et* we should probably read *i. e.*² Hence it would seem that, with two slight emendations, the amount given by Orosius (4135 pounds of gold and 90,000 pounds of silver) agrees precisely with that given by Pliny (15,000 *lateres* gold—each worth 1,000 sesterces—plus 30,000 *lateres* silver—each worth 1,000 sesterces—that is, 30,000,000 sesterces). The coincidence in the values of the gold and silver *lateres*, the added coincidence in the equivalence of the silver *lateres* with the *numerato*, and finally the fact that all the *lateres* prove thus to contain metal to the value of 1,000 sesterces seem to me to provide a confirmation of these easy emendations. What Caesar then found in the sacred treasury was a store of gold and silver worth nearly 12,000,000 denarii, enough to pay his legions for several months at the new rate that he introduced.

Now we may take the next step. We know that the *aerarium sanctius* was established in the fourth century B. C. to provide funds from a five per cent manumission tax in case of Gallic invasions (Livy 7, 16, 6), and that it was emptied in 209 during the darkest period of the Hannibalic war (Livy 27, 10, 11). After that it is seldom mentioned during the Republic, though Cicero refers to it in 59 (*Att.* 2, 16). The inscriptions of the Empire frequently record the collectors of the tax (Hirschfeld, *Verwalt.* 106). There was therefore no intermission in the collection.

But what interests us here is that we may discover that Sulla also emptied this treasury before Caesar. There is no explicit record of the fact, though we ought to assume it because Sulla

² It would be easy to assume a confusion in the manuscript between the standard medieval abbreviations of *et* and *id est*, but I fear that the error is just one of the all too many that we have to attribute to Pliny's excerptors and research helpers, for Pliny's own comment indicates surprise at the size of the amount.

was so far bankrupt in 82 that he not only proscribed some two thousand men for their wealth but also melted up the treasures of temples (*aurea atque argentea templorum ornamenta . . . conflata sunt*: Val. Max. 7, 6, 4; cf. App. B. C. 1, 96). If he used other temple treasures, he could hardly have avoided taking the special store of the five per cent tax. But we can, I think, reach certainty in the matter. We have noticed that the ingots of gold, weighing $3\frac{1}{2}$ ounces, would be worth 1,000 sesterces if the gold-silver ratio was that of Pompey's issue of aurei, that is, 36 to the pound. Pompey's aureus was probably struck in 80 B. C.,³ and it was sixteen per cent lighter than the gold coins struck by Sulla's coiners in 86-82 and about eleven per cent heavier than those of Caesar in 49-44. In other words the ingots that Caesar found were cast at a ratio that the treasury had established after 82 and before 80. Hence we can be sure that Sulla had emptied this treasury and, since there was no serious occasion to use it between 82 and 49, we may be sure that what Caesar found was the accumulation of that period.

We may hazard a third step. Since the treasury had accumulated about 12,000,000 denarii in 32 years from a five per cent manumission tax we may discover something about the number of slaves set free at Rome, if we know the average price of slaves. Our data for Rome are very scarce and usually concern high prices paid for very valuable slaves. Our best collection of prices comes from the famous manumission records of Delphi (Foucart, *Main d'oeuvre*, 107), and these may fairly be used because Greek prices of slaves were largely determined by the Roman purchases at the famous market at Delos. The average price at Delphi is 400 drachmas. To be sure, a price set with a view to the tax that has to be paid will naturally be somewhat lower than normal, but that was as true at Rome as in Greece. We also know that, when the corn dole became very lavish at Rome after 63, many owners freed their decrepit

³ Mommsen and Bahrfieldt date these coins of Pompey in 81; others have proposed 61. They are triumphal coins, and the head of Africa upon them and their relative scarcity speak strongly for an early date. Pompey probably did not triumph till 79 so that they were probably not designed before 80 B. C. But it is likely that they have the ratio adopted by the treasury for gold when new accumulations came in after 82.

slaves for the state to feed them (Dio 39, 24). Such slaves would be very cheap. On the other hand the slaves that bought their freedom or that won manumission because of good service were doubtless above the average. These two classes of cheap and expensive slaves will perhaps offset each other. If we allow for some difference between the Greek and the Roman market, we may, I think, assume about 500 denarii as the average manumission price at Rome during the last century of the Republic. The sum of 12,000,000 denarii would then represent nearly 500,000 manumissions during 32 years, or about 16,000 per year. This will seem a reasonable number to those who recall how freely slaves were freed at Rome. Cicero, for instance, though far from being wealthy, had some ten freedmen in his familia. My conclusion, then, is that the sacred treasury contained metal in 49 B. C. valued at about 12,000,000 denarii, that Sulla had emptied the treasury in 82 B. C., and that the average number of manumissions between 81 and 49 B. C. was nearly 16,000 per year.

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ADFATIM, FATISCI, FESSUS.

[*Adfatim* not meaning "to weariness"; connection with *fatigare* not proved; probably to be explained, according to primitive sense of *fatisci*, as "to (the point of) cracking." *Fessus* regarded by Lucretius as participle, not of *fatiscor*, but of *fendo*; this derivation possible.]

In Paul. Fest. 11 M. the definition of *adfati*m by *abundanter* is followed by the remark: Terentius dixit pro eo quod est ad lassitudinem. Ribbeck, Com. 5, remarking that *adfati*m does not occur in Terence, suggested Titinius. Of more importance than the evident corruption of the name is the fact that Paulus gives no quotation; Festus probably had one, and there are two possibilities as to its character.

The first is that it was such as to prove that *fatim* actually meant *lassitudinem*. This was the opinion of Mueller, who says in his note: "Haec sine dubio primaria significatio vocis *fatisci* fuit"; so too Lindsay, Lat. Lang. 563, Brugmann, Indog. Gram. II 724, Walde s. v. *fatigo*. Perhaps all were influenced by the consideration that the interpretation seemed to furnish an etymology for *fatigare*; but no one has yet explained the mode of derivation; and so long as the formation of verbs in *-igare* remains obscure (Stolz-Leumann, § 225, d) it seems safer not to accept the etymology as supporting the interpretation. And it has no other support; the many passages in which *adfati*m occurs admit of no other equivalent than *abunde* or, as Gloss. V 436 has it, *ad satietatem*. True, the gloss also gives *ad lassitudinem*; but this proves nothing more than that the unsupported interpretation had been handed down.

The second possibility is that *ad l.* was only a paraphrase which seemed to suit the use of *adf.* in a particular passage. Of such paraphrasing we have an example in Paul. Fest. 71 M.: deliquum Plautus posuit pro minus. Here too there is no quotation; but Pl. Cas. 207 shows what is meant, namely, that for the obsolete *delicuom* a modern writer would here use *minus*. An example of another kind is Donat. Eun. 290: miror pro nescio; either the latter word seemed to the scholiast normal in such a connection, or he wished simply to remark that "I wonder why" implies ignorance. A third is Serv. Aen. 1. 185: errantes: pascentes; the commentator intended only to visualize the situation, but gave to his note the same form as that on

2. 31: innupta: quae numquam nubit, where he is actually offering an interpretation.

In the line from Livius, which Paulus cites to illustrate the rendering by *abundanter*, the adverb belongs in the first place to *edi bibi* and only secondarily to *lusi*; but the presence of the third verb suggests how a simple *adfatum lusi*, still more an *a. laboravi*, might have led to the paraphrase *ad lassitudinem*. No such combination occurs; but some light may be had from comparing Apul. Met. 9. 28, *adfatum plagis castigatum*, with Plaut. Rud. 758, *virgis te usque ad saturitatem sauciem*, and Ps. 216, *usque ad languorem* (sc. *vapules*); that in Thes. L. L. I 545, 25, the citation of the last passage is accompanied by a reference to Paul. Fest. 11 M., is instructive, not as proving that *adfatum* and *ad languorem* are synonymous, but as showing how easily they may, in this connection, be so regarded.

Fatisci is usually derived from *fatis*. It is not possible to derive it, as Walde does, from a *fatis* meaning "Erschöpfung"; for "to become exhausted" is only the secondary sense of the verb. Nonius gives *aperiri* as the primary signification; more precise is the *hiscere* which Servius, Aen. 1. 123, thought to be contained in *fatiscere*; perhaps it would be most exactly defined by the *rimas agere* of Cic. Att. 14, 9. 1; Virgil's *rimis fatiscunt* is a picturesque pleonasm. The noun, if related, must have corresponded in meaning to this first, and so to speak, physical, signification of the verb; and such a correspondence Ernout, *Éléments Dialectaux du Vocabulaire Latin* 159, following Bréal and Bailly, Dict. Étym., finds by relating *fatis* to *χαίνω χάσσω* and translating *ad fatim* by "à crevaision." This theory is attractive, as permitting us to see in *adf. esse bibere* the metaphor, which dictionaries show contained in the application to excess in eating and drinking of Fr. *crever*, Ger. *bersten*, and Eng. "burst" and "split". Now it is true that the I. E. guttural which yields initial *χ* in Greek is in Latin normally represented by initial *h*, except when the guttural is followed by *u*, either vowel or consonant (Buck, AJP, XI, 216). A very few exceptions are however recognized; Sommer, Lautl.² 196, lists the following: *fel* *χόλος*, *fovea* *χείά*, *faux* *χάος*. This *f* is generally regarded as dialectic, in Stolz-Leumann, 135, also as old Latin (Festus), which is denied by Planta, Osk.-Umbr. Dial. I 443; see also Osthoff, Morph. Unters. IV 99. Planta

says: "Das *f* scheint einem nicht näher zu umgränzenden Gebiete nördlich und nordöstlich von Rom zu beiden Seiten des Tiber anzugehören. Das Gebiet kann ganz nahe an die Stadt Rom gereicht haben, braucht aber andererseits keineswegs das ganze Sabinische umfasst zu haben." Buck, *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, 94, speaks of "the substitution of *f* for *h*" as "characteristic of rustic Latin and some of the neighboring minor dialects." The matter is not perfectly clear; nor is it clear why this dialecticism, or rusticity, should appear in a very few urban words. But, the fact once admitted, there seems no reason why *fatisc* should not be brought under a phonological classification which yields for it so appropriate a signification.

The statement of Priscian, II 429 K., that *fessus* is the participle of *fatisci*, implies that there was once a form *fassus*; the consequent change of vowel has been variously explained: by the influence of the compound *defessus*, Sommer, *Lautl.*² 604; by differentiation from *fateor fassus* and influence of *pressus*, H. Brender, *Glotta* XX 46 ff.; by differentiation and decomposition, Kent "*No Trespass in Latin Linguistics*" in "*Studies in Honor of John C. Rolfe*" 150. There is however no real evidence that *fassus* ever existed; for it is not to be supposed that Seneca really wrote *fassa* in *Contr.* 2. 5. 5 (*Thes. L. L.* VI 609, 62); and, considering the amount of corruption undergone by the text of glosses, it is quite possible to suppose that *farsa*, *Gl.* IV 74, 10, stands for *fessa*, not, as is assumed (*Thes. L. L.* VI 352, 63 and 609, 16) for *fassa*. Of course *fassus* must be assumed to have existed, if Priscian's statement is true; but Lucretius cannot have agreed with Priscian; else he could not have written (*ab*) *aevo fessa fatisci*, 2. 458, 5. 308. For in such a collocation the participle must express the antecedent action and cause, the finite verb the resulting act or condition, as in *Cic. Ac.* 7 *fatigati relinquemus*, *Rep.* 2. 59 *debilitata deficeret*, *Verg. G.* 1. 180 *pulvere victa fatiscat*, *A.* 12. 255 *vi victus . . . defecit*, *Plin. N. H.* 11. 54 *lassata defecit*, *Stat. S.* 5. 1. 35 *exsiccata fatiscet*. This expression of cause and result could not be produced by different forms of the same verb. Whether the verb is used in metaphor or not, makes no difference; if the Roman expressed "worn out" and "break down" (Munro's translation) by "cracking" and "cracked," he could not express "worn out with age break down" by what would, quite obviously to him, be "cracking with age crack."

That Lucretius had in mind a quite different primary meaning of the participle and used it with full consciousness of that meaning, can, I think, be inferred from the way in which he elsewhere speaks of the operation of time on matter. To time he attributes strength (3. 152): he represents it as battering at matter (3. 451) or breaking it (1. 553, 557 ff., 2. 1132). Propertius has the same figure, 3. 2. 22 (4. 1. 62) *annorum aut ictus (al. ictu) pondera victa ruent*. Cracking may result from blows: Verg. A. 9. 806 *saxis solida aera fatiscunt*, Val. Fl. 4. 48 *icta fatiscit aquis*, Sil. 9. 322 *clipeusque fatiscit impulsu clipei*. If we suppose that Lucretius took *fessus* to mean primarily "struck, beaten," we see how *quassatum viribus aevi*, 3. 451, corresponds to *aevo fessa*, 458; how the Propertian *ictus ruent* matches the Lucretian *fessa obruat*, 3. 774; how *aetatis spatio defessa vetusto*, 2. 1174, fits into the poet's manner of conceiving the action of time. And, if we extend the supposition to Virgil, his *fessis rebus* appears as a direct poetical version of Cicero's *adflictis rebus* (cp. Thes. L. L. V 323, 45), and his *fessas naves* corresponds to his *quassatam classem* and to Horace's *rates quassas*. That such an interpretation existed in antiquity, is suggested by Serv. Aen. 5. 29; *fessas naves pro nos fessos; vel fessas quassas nec ad plenum refectas*; from the second part of this note it seems as if the commentator had found and copied the definition of *fessas* by *quassas*, but, not understanding it, had added *et n. r.* to make the interpretation draw nearer to the familiar conception of *fessus* as *lassus*.

Assuming that the two poets thus conceived of *fessus* and *defessus*, the reason for the conception is obvious; *defessus* was regarded as a variant of *defensus*. *Defendere* means "beat off," but might also mean "beat down"; for a like variation in the force of the prefix cp. *deicere* and *detrudere*; for the differentiation in meaning of the two forms cp. the distinction commonly, though not invariably, made in Silver Latin between *lautus* and *lotus*. Thus *defessus* = *defatigatus* would show the same figure of speech as Eng. "knocked up" for "exhausted" and Fr. *battu de fatigue*.

The view of Conway, Class. Rev. V (1891), 297, based on Curtius, Etym., 255 that both *fendo* and *tendo* have nasal stems with a -do- suffix, is accepted by Lindsay, Lat. Lang., 486, by Brugmann, Grundr. I 600, and by Walde; the fact that Sommer,

Lautl.² 502, mentions only *tendo* shows perhaps that he is sceptical as to *fendo*. But even though admitting that *fendo* stands to *θεῖνω* as *tendo* to *τείνω*, we must recognize that the latter shows its nasal stem clearly in the retention of the participle *tentus*, for which *tensus* appears in compounds only about the first century B. C., while the compounds of the obsolete *fendo* show *-ns-* in the earliest literature. How long before the literary period this change, if change there was, took place, we cannot know; it may have come so early as to accustom the Roman to regard *defendo* like any other present in *-nd-*, and to permit a form *defessus* to arise, like *passus* and *fissus* and the late *fressus*, which Lindsay, Lat. Lang. 115, regards as probably a vulgar form, as *defessus* also may have been.

It would be simpler if we could assume that *fessus* was formed first, on the analogy of *fissus*. But the literary evidence seems to prove that *fessus* was created much later, probably for metrical convenience, by decomposition. The first instance which can be dated, and the first in prose, is Cic. Planc. 26; but Arat. 68, Catullus and Lucretius show that it had previously been used in poetry. Caesar uses only *defessus*; that Cicero adopted *fessus* into familiar language is shown by its occurrence in Ac. 1. 1 and Att. 15. 9. 1, where the tone is very different from that of Planc. 26. Varro adopted it; that it nevertheless retained in later literature a certain poetic association is suggested by the fact that it is preferred by Tacitus and avoided by Suetonius.

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REPORTS.

HERMES, LXVI (1931).

Bemerkungen zur Hecyra des Terenz (1-29). W. Schadewaldt shows that the complicated plot hinges on the following chronology: The marriage of Pamphilus and Philumena took place without their knowing that they had met in clandestine embrace two months before; further, owing to the immediate departure of Pamphilus on a journey, the first marital union took place two months after the marriage; finally the child was born seven months after the marriage in the absence of Pamphilus. Philumena anticipating an illegitimate child returns to her mother Myrrina, hoping to hide her disgrace. Phidippus, Philumena's father, is satisfied that it is a case of a seven-months child (v. 531), and so blames the stepmother Sostrata as the cause of Philumena's return to her mother. Pamphilus comes home, discovers the child, which to him was clearly not his own, and, although he loves his wife, feels that in duty to his mother he must divorce Philumena. The dénouement is brought about by means of Philumena's ring, which, obtained on the fateful night, Pamphilus had given to the hetaira Bacchis.

Beiträge zum griechischen Strafrecht. I. Die Entstehung der Popularklage (30-48). Kurt Latte traces steps in the development of Greek criminal jurisdiction from archaic private vengeance and self-redress to the establishment of a legal system, citing passages from Homer, Hesiod, Herodotus, the Orators, the laws of Gortyn etc. In the early communities there existed three rivaling groups: the patriarchal clan, the peasants of a village, and the aristocratic union of comrades at arms. The shout of a member brings to his assistance the fellows of his group (*βοηθεῖν*), but when Solon established τὸ ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλευμένῳ [*τιμωρεῖν*] ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδικουμένων (Arist. polit. 9, 4), he severed the bond that held the old groups together. Cleisthenes carried the reform further. In the place of group violence, the members assisted in legal processes. In Thuc. VIII, 54, 4 we read of the *ξυνωμοσίαι*, αἵπερ ἐτύγχανον πρότερον ἐν τῇ πόλει οὔσαι ἐπὶ δίκαις καὶ ἀρχαῖς. The orators appeal to the judges: *βοηθεῖν τοῖς νόμοις, τῇ πόλει*. However Polybius (13, 8, 3 ff.) gives an example of the old cry *βοήθεια*, help!

Aristidesstudien (49-70). Friedrich Lenz discusses the question whether the MSS of Aristides were derived from a single archetype (cf. *A. J. P.*, LII, 372).

Sappho's Gedicht ΦΑΙΝΕΤΑΙ ΜΟΙ ΚΗΝΟΣ (71-90). B. Snell undertakes a subtle analysis of this poem, comparing it with Catullus' translation. He tries to show that the latter is a

poem of jealousy, whereas Sappho's poem was composed to celebrate a wedding.

Zu Polybios, XXXI, 12 ff. (91-96). Ernst Hohl shows that the account of Demetrius' flight from Rome is simple and straightforward; it is not made up of two versions as L. Laqueur tried to show (cf. *A. J. P.*, LII, 371).

Das Bürgerrecht der sympolitischen Bundesstaaten bei den Griechen (97-118). W. Schwahn shows, from the evidence of inscriptions and historians, that citizenship in the federated groups of Greek city states was valid in each member of the federation. Of course an individual could exercise his rights only in the πόλις inhabited; but he could move to another without hindrance. The question has been obscured by numerous inscriptions that deal with honorary titles.

Miszellen: Chr. Blinkenberg (119-122) gives an interesting account of the reading of the potter's name on a small pyxis in the national museum at Copenhagen no. 953, and on a similar vase in the British museum (cf. Hoppin, *Handbook of Attic red-figured vases* II 1919, p. 173 and *Handbook of Greek black-figured vases* 1924, p. 467). Read Γαυρίων instead of resp. Γαῦρις or Μαυρίων.—W. Weinberger (122-124) criticizes Ohly's arguments for disproving the theory of Birt (*Buchwesen* 351 etc.) that MSS had been dictated to groups of penmen. He himself admits that there is no positive proof of this theory.—Otto Weinreich (124-5) suggests that Mor. Haupt's comment on Catullus' verse: *odi et amo*: "in einem Distichon ein ganzes Menschenleben" (Chr. Belger—Mor. Haupt als akad. Lehrer, p. 246, A. 1) was somehow influenced by a comedy of Nicostatus II, where a similar comment is made on a verse from Euripides' Sthenobolia (Frg. 661 N): Οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις πάντ' ἀνὴρ εὐδαιμονεῖ (cf. Stob. Ecl. IV 41, 48).—W. Peek (125) emends ἡ Μοῖρα, ἡ παντεπίπασιν ἐούσα (Delamarre *Ö. Jahresh.* III (1900) 48 IX, and *Beitr. z. gr. Inschriftenk.* p. 27 and 169) to read: ἡ πάντ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι νέουσα, 'Die den Menschen alles zuspinnt'.—A. Busse (126-128) tries to show that J. Geffcken (*Hermes* LXV, p. 19 ff.) misunderstood Libanius' (V 85 ff.) discussion of the Pindar citation in Pl. Gorgias 484 b, and says "Polykrates hat die Pindarstelle δικαιῶν τὸ βιαίωτατον wortgetreu zitiert; Libanios aber hat nur den Gorgias eingesehen, wo er die Lesart unserer handschriftlichen Überlieferung βαιῶν τὸ δικαιώτατον fand etc." This reading, Busse assumes, was due to some sophist.

Beiträge zum griechischen Strafrecht II. Die Strafen (129-158). Kurt Latte discusses the various forms of punishment meted out for murder, manslaughter in self-defense, adultery, theft etc., from early times down to the time of the Orators.

The *lex talionis* (Charondas) was probably of short duration. The laws of Draco, which Demades said were "written in blood" (Plut. Sol. 17, 3), were in many cases astonishingly mild. Cases of imprisonment as a punishment are cited; but down into the classical period the only actual punishments were death, banishment, fines and confiscations. In the archaic period the application of the death penalty by the state was much restricted. The questions of guilt and degrees of guilt yield interesting information.

Über das Lob des Landlebens in Virgils Georgica (159-189). Friedrich Klingner gives a minute analysis of book II from v. 420 to the end. "Jedes wort, jeder Satz, jede Versgruppe und jeder gröszere Teil steht in funktionalen Zusammenhängen und Wechselwirkungen, die zusammen eine bewegte Harmonie ausmachen, welche jeder spürt der für dergleichen empfänglich ist."

Die Orestie des Aischylos (190-214). Albin Lesky gives a brief review of the tradition on which Aeschylus based his trilogy. According to the Odyssey (α 29 ff.; γ 239 ff.; δ 512 ff.; λ 404 ff.) Aegisthus slew Agamemnon, Clytaemestra Cassandra; but from Stesichorus (fg. 15 Diehl) and Pindar Pyth. XI 17 ff., it is evident that Clytaemestra had become the central figure before Aeschylus composed his trilogy. This is substantiated by vase paintings. Material for the Eumenides was given by Attic legends showing ξένοι of Orestes in Athens, Orestes' protection at the foot of the palladium, and the legend that the twelve gods judged the case of the Eumenides against Orestes on the Areopagus (Dem. XXIII, 65 ff.). Lesky's chief contribution, however, is his ingenious analysis of the spiritual and moral content of the play. An ominous gloom throughout the Agamemnon is relieved by moments of joy; the apprehensive choruses are interrupted by the information carried by the beacon signal and by Agamemnon's return. The watchman presages both moods at the opening of the play. The dramatic Cassandra scene establishes a bond that unifies the three plays. While the curse resting on the house of the Pelopids has entailed one tragedy after another, yet there is room for personal responsibility; but above all it is Zeus who brings all things to pass, an ever recurring note, in which Aeschylus expresses a deep religious conviction.

Zum ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ des Platonikers Albinos (215-226). Otmar Schissel follows J. Freudenthal (Hellenistische Studien III, Berlin 1879, 260 f.) in making use of Diog. Laert. III 49-51, in his efforts to restore Albinus' classification of Plato's dialogues. However, he finds that Diogenes' classification can only be used in a restricted sense. He presents tables of classi-

fication: a complicated one of Albinus in comparison with one of Diogenes; finally a tentative one of the original text of Albinus.

Zum Opferritus (227-234). L. Ziehen proves, by means of a coin from Nysa and a red-figured vase in the Hamilton collection, that *αἰρεσθαι τοὺς βοῦς* (IG II 467, l. 10 f. etc.) meant that the steers were actually raised aloft by lusty youths. He further interprets Il. γ 403 ff. in the light of Athen. Mitteil. XXXIV 1909, 85 ff., and Cook, Zeus I, p. 504, fig. 368, which make it probable that the youths dragged the steer around the altar by his horns.

Miszellen. Johannes Th. Kakridis (235-238) has called attention to the similarity between the pairs Apollo-Admetus in Hesiod and Poseidon-Pelops in Pindar (cf. A. J. P., L, pp. 293 ff.) and now shows that just as Poseidon assisted Pelops as his former *ἐραστής*, so it is probable that Pindar likewise introduced the *παιδικὸς ἔρως* as the motive for Apollo's serving Admetus. Pindar evidently did not regard paederasty as reprehensible. Finally Heracles is also represented as an *ἐραστής* of Admetus in imitation of the Apollo version (cf. Plut. Eroticis 761 E, Bern. 4, 432 f., and Clemens Alex., Strom. I 383).—E. Bethe (239-240) argues that the seated figure holding out the golden apple to Aphrodite is not Zeus (Wilamowitz), but Paris (cf. A. J. P., LII, p. 373). Evidently the judgment of Paris was known in Sparta at the beginning of the VII century B. C. "Es ist eine naiv schöne Erfindung eines Homeriden, die Entführung der lakonischen Helena durch den Troer zu erklären, etc." As Bethe believes that the Iliad and Cyclic poems were composed after 600 B. C., he regards the above archaeological evidence as important for his theories.

Demetrius ΠΕΡΙ ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ und sein peripatetisches Quellenmaterial (241-267). Friedrich Solmsen bases this investigation on the book of J. Stroux, *De Theophrasti virtutibus dicendi* (Leipzig 1912), which shows that the four *χαρακτῆρες* of Demetrius correspond to the four *ἀρεταὶ λέξεως* of Theophrastus, and sums up his results as follows: "Abgesehen von diesen Komplexen (i. e. three exceptions), haben wir aber jetzt die gesamte stilistische Beschreibung der *χαρακτῆρες* unseres Autors auf die peripatetische Rhetorik zurück geführt und sie in deren System genau lokalisiert. He concludes with remarks on the influence of Isocrates on the Peripatetics.

Zu Text und Textgeschichte der Republik Ciceros (268-301). K. Ziegler cites several passages in the letters to Atticus in which Cicero asked him to correct certain errors; in the case of the misspelt Phliuntius (Rep. II 4, 8), which is the reading of the palimpsest, to write Phliasius. That other corrections

or alterations were made by Cicero himself is made probable by several passages of the *Tuscul. Disputations* I 53 ff., which Cicero repeated from the sixth book of the *Republic*; but which show improvements on the extant text of the *Somnium Scipionis*, as proved by the Greek text of Pl. Phaedr. He shows further that the text in Macrobius' commentary agrees with the improved text of the *Tusculans*. The continuous text of the *Somnium* was not joined to his commentary by Macrobius, as the editions of Jan and Eyssenhardt lead one to suppose; but is a later addition. Finally Ziegler defends a number of the readings in his new (1929) text of the *Republic*. He finds frequent occasions to differ with Hauler.

Die Verurteilung der römischen Feldherrn von Arausio (302-316). J. Lenglé shows that the condemnation and exile of Q. Servilius Caepio and Cn. Mallius Maximus was due to the defeat of the Roman armies at Arausio Oct. 6, 105 B. C., in opposition to the commonly held views, which are under the influence of Mommsen, who argued that Caepio's condemnation was due to the disappearance of the temple treasures of Tolosa, which occasioned the *quaestio auri Tolosani*. Lenglé's conclusion would adduce an exception to Mommsen's statement in *Staatsr.* 2, 230 Anm. 2: "Geschlagene, auch durch eigene Schuld geschlagene Feldherrn sind nie zu gerichtlicher Rechenschaft gezogen worden."

Zu griechischen Epigrammen aus Ägypten (317-336). W. Peek emends a number of epigrams published in Preisigke's collection and elsewhere.

Boiotische Stadtanleihen aus dem dritten Jahrhundert v. Chr. (337-346). W. Schwahn writes a financial commentary to three inscriptions recording adjustments of debts incurred by three towns of Boeotia, published in *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, vol. 8, 1923, pp. 182 ff. By means of clever calculations he determines the original loans, the several rates of interest and the curious fact that the financial year in Boeotia had only 348 days.

Menippos ΠΕΡΙ ΘΥΣΙΩΝ (347-354). J. Geffcken following R. Helm shows a number of agreements of Lucian's *περὶ θυσιῶν* with Varro (cf. fgmts. 94-100), an epigram of Meleager, who was a Menippean, and Arnobius' discussion of sacrifices (bk. 7). Lucian's history of sacrifices (§ 10) is probably also a Menippean feature.

Zwei Interpretationen (355-361). O. Schröder interprets Thuc. II 40-1 and emends § 4: *βεβαιότερος δὲ ὁ δράσας τὴν χάριν <ὥσείτε> ὀφειλομένην δι' εὐνοίας ᾧ δέδωκε <σώζων>*. He also elucidates Marcus Ant. *εἰς ἑαυτόν* (B 11) to show that the sentence: *ὃ δὲ χεῖρω μὴ ποιεῖ ἄνθρωπον, πῶς ἂν τοῦτο βίον ἀνθρώπου χεῖρω*

ποιήσκειν expresses the central thought of this chapter. He proposes for οὐτ' ἂν τηλικούτον ἤμαρτεν (§ 3) to read οὐδ' ἂν.

Miszellen: A. Grosskinsky (362-367) discusses Herodotus IV 186-191 to explain his reverting to the Libyan nomads in cc. 187-190; and concludes that the emphatic οὐδὲ—οὐδὲ in 187 was due to Herodotus' criticism of Hecataeus, whose periegesis had mentioned nomads west of lake Tritonis, which is proved by fragments of Hecataeus.—A. Busse (367-368) agrees now with Wilamowitz (Platon. II 95) in defending the MS reading βαιῶν τὸ δικάϊότατον in Gorgias 484 B. The almighty νόμος upholds by force the right (i.e. of the stronger).—B. Snell (368) states as a correction to page 73, 1 (above), that the new Oxyrh. pap. agrees with the old papyrus in having a δέ after ὕμνην (cf. Diehl, p. 354, note 6: num pro ὕμνον).

At this point Alfred Körte inserts an obituary of Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff († 25. 9. 1931), telling of the important relations he had held with the *Hermes* journal.

Die Entstehungsgeschichte der römischen Stenographic (369-386). A. Mentz cites all the evidence: the important sketch of Isidorus (Orig. I 22), the brief notes of Hieronymus yr. 2013, Plut. Cato minor 23, 3, Cassius Dio, hist. Rom. 55, 7 and Ps. Manilius, Astronomica IV 197-199. Mentz combines these statements with a close study of the ancient lists of notae, known as the commentarii notarum Tironianarum (CNT), and reaches the following conclusions:—Tiro invented symbols for words without regard for varying endings, largely indeclinables. These symbols were technically termed *praepositiones* (Isid. orig.) to distinguish them from the *declinationes*, the invention of Vipsanius, which were symbols for the endings. Then Aquila, influenced by a recently invented Greek shorthand, joined symbols for endings to a constant stem-symbol. Seneca collected the inventions of all three, made additions of his own, and so established the nucleus of the CNT as we have them today.

Der Zeushymnos des Kleanthes (387-401). E. Neustadt in a detailed analysis points out first of all the traditional forms of prooemium and exodium. Further he shows the conventional antithesis in the eulogy: "durch dich alles—ohne dich nichts" (Norden), which agrees remarkably with the proem of Lucretius in letting a digression separate positive and negative. Other agreements with Lucretius show how Cleanthes' parenthetical eulogy led up to the κελαινεφής ἀρχικέραννος which is to light up the darkness of human folly. Most remarkable is the agreement of passage after passage with the utterances of Heraclitus; "Sein Weltbild ohne Herakleitos undenkbar." Yet there is a fundamental difference, as Heraclitus advocates the reign of intellect, whereas Kleanthes was filled with a moral purpose to reform the world.

Praefanda (402-412). A. E. Housman publishes with Latin commentaries a selection of Priapea, epigrams of Martial, and extracts from Suetonius etc. of a similar character. The first extract is from Catullus 56, who began his poem with "O rem ridiculam."

Zum Verständnis von Vergilius Aeneis B. VI (Randbemerkungen zu Nordens Kommentar) (413-441). Karl Kerényi shows that all three praecepta Sibyllae are justified: the burial of Misenus, the securing of the golden bough and the sacrifice. The significance of the golden bough is shown at length. Demeter as a suppliant had carried it to the lower world; hence to Charon it appeared as the venerabile donum fatalis virgae, longo post tempore visum (408 ff.). It appeared to Aeneas as a sort of mistletoe (204-209). The nature of this parasite and the mysticism associated with it is discussed. The entrance to Hades takes place at dawn together with Hecate and her wild rabble, the return to earth takes place through the gateway of false dreams; he awakens as it were from a dream; a reader may consider it all a dream. The last point reached in the marvellous journey is clearly placed in the upper regions of air (v. 887). Antonius Diogenes' τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἄπιστα (cf. Rohde, Der gr. Rom. 268 ff.), and Plut. De sera num. vind. 22 etc. show that Vergil followed his source into the sphere of the moon. The article concludes with a discussion of Die kosmischen Punkte der Hadesfahrt.

Der Demeter-Hymnos des Philikos (442-454). Alfred Körte publishes this papyrus fragment of the III century B. C., which appeared first in Stud. Ital. di Filol. Class. N. S. V. (1927), and again in 1931, in the same journal, throws light on the interpretation, and makes it probable that Peitho speaks in vv. 23-50.

Nachträge zur Kyrenesage (455-464). H. Drexler mediating between F. Studniczka (Kyrene, eine altgriechische Göttin, Leipzig 1890), L. Malten (Kyrene, Philol. Unters. Heft 20, Berlin 1911) and G. Pasquali (Quaestiones Callimacheae, Götting. 1913) shows that this legend was originally localized in Thessaly, without including Cyrene's struggle with a lion. Pindar introduced the lion incident into the Thessalian legend on account of his hero Telesicrates, following a Cyrenaic legend of the λεοντοφόνος, which is illustrated in a relief in Olympia.

Miszellen: Carl Wendel (465-467) shows that the name of the mythographer in no. 42 of Jacoby's hist. fgmts. should be spelled Δημαρέτης. R. Laqueur (467-469) proposes "processional song" as a translation of θεμωστία (Strabo XVII 1, 43, p. 814), in place of "oracle." The verb θεμωστεύειν expresses the corresponding action. W. Kroll (469-472) shows, mainly on the

basis of Naevius' eulogy of Scipio (com. 108 ff.) that he died in Utica not as an exile of the Metelli, for he had gone there in company with Scipio as the herald of his deeds, just as Fulvius Nobilior had Ennius to accompany him some years later. Otto Kern (473) emends the Orphic fgmt. 56 from Apion (Clemens Romanus Homil. VI, 5-12) to read <κρᾶδιαίου> σχισθέντος πολυχανδέος ὡιοῦ. The world egg, as the sun in Proclus (Helius I Vs 5/6), is the καρδιά τοῦ κόσμου. W. Peek (474-477) publishes three Greek epigrams, with commentary. E. Köstermann (477/8), commenting on Tac. ann. 1, 19, lets incipientis modify principis, meaning "in the beginning of Tiberius' reign." This use of princeps occurs in Plin. nat. h. II 93, and in Plin. paneg, 24, 1 and 57, 2.

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RHEINISCHES MUSEUM, LXXVIII (1929), Heft 3-4.

Pp. 225-248. S. Luria, Entstellungen des Klassikertextes bei Stobaios (continuation of I and II, pp. 81-104). III. Consideration and emendation of passages in which the text has suffered from the introduction by Christian writers of monotheistic conceptions and from attempts at theodicy. IV. In the old materialists a rich store of interpolations and corruptions is to be expected. Examination and emendation of passages from Democritus and Antiphon.

Pp. 249-267. Alexander Haggerty Krappe, Die Sage von der Tarpeja. The legend of Tarpeia is not originally a genuine Roman historical saga. Stories of the same general type are found in Greek authors both classical and Hellenistic, and in many oriental sources, particularly in the account given by the annalist Tabarî of the siege and capture of the city of Hadr by the Persian King Šapur I (about 260 A. D.). There are also many medieval versions, especially from Italy, and some of indefinite date (Russian, Indian, etc.). In the Roman version of the legend, as connected with Tarpeia, there are two forms of the story. In the one (A) (Ovid, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Livy, etc.), Tarpeia is bribed by the golden bracelets of the enemy. In the other (B) (Propertius), she is seized by a violent passion for the leader of the hostile forces. In the Greek legends, the versions of class B are in the majority. The oldest variant of class A is found in the story of Scylla in Aeschylus *Choephoroi* 612 ff.). In the oriental legends, the account of Tabarî is the only one that contains the *motif* of a talisman. The medieval versions belong mainly to class B, and some of them show features that are elsewhere found only in certain

accounts of the story of Hadr. Krappe thinks that we are dealing with a rationalization of an early form of the story, probably containing some of the features of the 'Soul of the Ogre' *motif* and resembling in this respect the story of Samson. By this rationalization, the saga was gradually denuded of certain magical elements. The later legends (Italian, etc.) are possibly a fusion of the earlier Roman form of the saga with some form of the Hadr legend that had worked its way westward. Krappe is inclined to deny that the Roman story of Tarpeia owes its existence to the legend of Scylla found in Aeschylus.

Pp. 268-314. Alfred Klotz, *Zur Textgeschichte und Textkritik der Scriptores Historiae Augustae*. Klotz agrees with E. Hohl, the latest editor of the text, in placing a very high valuation on the readings of the group Σ , which in many cases afford the original text or one older than that of P. Some of the corrections in P (P^b in Hohl) supply omissions that occur also in Σ , and so, in part, are not due to the writer of P. Many of these corrections could have been made by a bold reader. But there are other cases where this is not possible. P^b is not derived from the source of P^1 alone, but has had the use of another MS. Thus it is evident that P^b does not always afford the correct reading as against P^1 . In many passages there is a doubt as to whether P^1 or P^b contains the better reading. However, the MS. used in P^b is quite similar to the source of P. Both P and Σ came from a MS. in which 13-16 letters composed a line. This points to a MS. in majuscules, or to a MS. that preserved the columns of a majuscule MS. Certain errors in writing point to the assumption that it was written in uncials. Σ is not to be explained from the original source of P alone. Other influences have been at work, since the source of the family Σ has received corrections from another MS. Discussion of various aids to the constitution of the text.

Pp. 315-328. Friedrich Gisinger, *Zur Geographie bei Hesiod*. I. Examination of the list of river gods in *Theog.* 337-345 with a view to determining something of the extent of Hesiod's knowledge of geography. II. Proposed restorations and restored text of *Oxyrh. Pap.* 1358 F2, Plate II. This fragment is evidently part of the *Periodos* mentioned in Strabo (7, 3, 5). In this *Periodos*, which is from the third book of the *Catalogue of Women*, Hesiod told of the Boreads' pursuit of the Harpies on the occasion of their abduction of Phineus. Discussion of the course followed in the pursuit.

Pp. 329-336. Fridericus Marx, *Phalangarii*. Marx here collects various items of information dealing with *phalangarii*. He gives many references, literary, pictorial, and epigraphical, to the custom of carrying burdens suspended from a pole on the

shoulders of two porters. He discusses the origin and variant spellings of the word; the distribution of wine and the wine trade at Rome and Pompeii; and wine vessels of various kinds. At Rome the *phalangarii* had to be '*virī boni et probi et spectatae fidei*' and evidently were members of a guild. In Mantua Marx observed a similar guild in modern times. Two woodcuts are inserted showing *phalangarii* ancient and modern.

Pp. 337-360. Robert Philippson, *Panaetiana*. 1. Die Abfassungszeit der Euthymieschrift. Panaetius probably lived until the year 100 at least. The work *Περὶ εὐθυμίας* was probably written after the year 130, the *Περὶ καθήκοντος* after 129. On a journey with the younger Scipio, Panaetius probably employed their long stay in Alexandria to familiarize himself with the works of Democritus. 2. *Περὶ τῶν αἰρέσεων*. Philippson thinks that this work is of greater significance than has hitherto been recognized. In it Panaetius treated all the great schools of philosophy, and it was of the highest importance for later histories of philosophy. In particular were Diogenes Laërtius and his sources dependent upon it. 3. Die Seelenlehre des Panaitios. From Cicero, *De off.* (1, 101) and *Tusc.* (2, 47) it has been assumed that Panaetius believed that there were two parts of the soul, a rational and an irrational; and that he thus parts with the doctrine of the Stoa, and, in particular, with that of Chrysippus, who, in addition to the *λογικόν*, does not admit the existence of an *ἄλογον*, and thus approaches more nearly the views of Plato and Aristotle. Philippson argues that Panaetius did assume an irrational '*Element*' in the soul, but that he is in agreement with Chrysippus in that neither he nor Chrysippus considers this an irrational '*Teil*'.

Pp. 361-370. Ioannes Herter, *Grattianum*. Notes on the sources of Grattius' *Cynegetica* and on the interpretation of certain passages. Herter thinks that Grattius was influenced by a '*poeta nescio quis aevi hellenistici*'.

Pp. 371-397. Philipp Finger, Die zwei mantischen Systeme in Ciceros Schrift über die Weissagung (*De divinatione* I). The dualism in Cicero's work is due neither to Posidonius nor to Cratippus, but to a 'dualist' whom Finger identifies as Antiochus. Many passages of the work are discussed and commented on at length.

Pp. 398-426. Friedrich Marx, Römische Volkslieder. Under the above title Marx takes occasion to contribute a variety of notes on a number of points connected with the subject. The following is a list of the principal topics discussed: Roman popular poets; early Roman words for poet; the content and meter of certain specimens of early folk poetry; popular festivals; *versus Fescennini*; processions and processional improvisations;

the Saturnian meter: the trochaic septenarius; folk poetry written on walls, columns, etc.; *satura*; later popular poetry; the origin of the musical art; street cries of beggars and street venders; gladiatorial songs; inscriptional verses.

Pp. 427-432. Hugo Koch, *Zum Ablativgebrauch bei Cyprian von Karthago und andern Schriftstellern*. Citation and discussion of passages from Cyprian, Tertullian, Arnobius, etc. in which appear examples of a peculiar use of the ablative that, in part, can be explained as a kind of ablative of manner, but which Koch prefers to regard as an 'appositive ablative' or '*ablativus explicativus*'.

Pp. 432. A Klotz, *Berichtigung*. Correction of his note on p. 278.

Pp. 433-436. Register.

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REVIEWS.

Horazens Epistel über die Dichtkunst. Erklärt von OTTO IMMISCH. Leipzig, Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1932. Pp. vii + 217. M. 12.80. (Philologus, Supplementband xxiv, Heft 3.)

This monograph reveals in good measure the sanity and independence that we expect in the work of Otto Immisch. For a generation we have had futile discussions of the paragraphing of the *Ars Poetica*, or detective work on its sources. Both are beside the point until one has learned enough of Horace's background to comprehend what he was trying to say to his contemporaries. And that is the kind of task that most specialists in Roman literary studies have for a long time been afraid to touch. Horace certainly, even when he repeated borrowed phrases, put his own content into them, as Immisch has abundantly demonstrated. Jensen's brilliant restoration of a book of Philodemus unfortunately protracted the hunt for sources, since it gave some tangible support to Porphyrio's comment on Neoptolemus. I wish we knew precisely what paragraphs of Philodemus actually refer to Neoptolemus.

A very valuable part of Immisch's study points out that at most Horace touched only the outstanding precepts of Neoptolemus, that in discussing these he frequently differed from and corrected him, and that he said much that could not have been in Neoptolemus at all.

Immisch has, of course, done more than sift the Horatian ideas from those of Neoptolemus. His interpretation of words and phrases is especially fruitful because he has freed his mind from a cramping fashion, and his emphasis on the effects of the *hypsos*-theory on Horace's thought is especially interesting. He has also used with discretion the monograph of Fiske and Grant (*Wisc. Stud.* 1929) on the similarities in Cicero and Horace. He hesitates, as they did, to assume Horace's use of Cicero, and attributes the likenesses to a common stimulus in Antiochus. There is something in this, but when one remembers what an event the publication of the *de Oratore* must have been in the then barren literary world of Rome and how a teacher like Orbilius, especially devoted to native authors, must have devoured it, one does not see why we must always assume that Horace got all his impressions from his brief and turbulent stay at Athens. The question of the *Orator* and the *Brutus* is different, for Horace was probably in Greece when they appeared, and they had temporarily lost their influence before he returned. This is of course why he never discovered Cicero's correction about the dramatic *satura*.

The question of the date of the *Ars*, discussed in the first few pages of Immisch, is rather vital for a study like this, and here I fear he has been over daring. He rejects Porphyrio's statement on the Pisos and prefers the theory of Michaelis. He defends his choice with subjective arguments which are not very compelling, and accordingly accepts the date 20 B. C. Porphyrio's identification would bring us to a date some ten years later. Porphyrio, to be sure, made many mistakes in judgment and in interpretation, but one ought to have firm arguments before rejecting a factitive statement that could so readily have come from well informed authority. In view of Cichorius' demonstration of the literary interests of the Pisos accepted by the scholiast, their connections with Philodemus, and in view of the fact that the *Ars* forms a good summary of ideas that occur in the other epistles, scholars have been quite ready to consider it Horace's last work. And if it belongs to the years 10-8 B. C., the words of Horace about the drama and about music may well apply in part to the trend forced upon these arts by the introduction of the pantomime. The same may possibly apply to Horace's interest in the satyric drama, for it is precisely in the middle years of Augustus' reign that Roman literary experiments escape our knowledge. Finally there can be little doubt that the Heliodorus of *Hor. Sat.* 1, 5 was the famous Apollodorus (*Class. Phil.* 1920, 393). Why is the possible influence of this great man on Horace invariably disregarded?

In general Immisch has done an excellent piece of work and it ought to turn Horatian studies in a fruitful direction at last.

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The Gorgon's Head and Other Literary Pieces. By J. G. FRAZER.

With a preface by Anatole France and a portrait of the Author from the bust by Antoine Bourdelle. London: Macmillan and Co., 1927. Pp. xvi, 453.

Garnered Sheaves: Essays, Addresses, and Reviews. By J. G. FRAZER. London: Macmillan and Co., 1931. Pp. xi, 538.

The unique position held by this author in the world of scholarship and letters renders the appearance of each of the successive volumes from his pen an event of interest, whether the material thus presented embodies the results of the recent labors of this active mind or—as in the case of most of the contents of the two volumes under review—is a reprint of earlier work. There will be many readers to whom intellectual processes

possess an attraction not inferior to that of the definitive result, and who will be grateful for the opportunity now afforded them of observing the earlier phases of the enunciation of views which have now become standard. To them, too, the occasional and informal remarks of a master like Sir James, and his half-playful improvisations on the literary themes which have attracted his fancy, will be a welcome complement to the more formal treatises which have made his name a household word wherever classical archaeology, the history of religion, and the study of folk-lore are cultivated. And there is probably still a certain reading public which can derive esthetic pleasure from literary production of a high order, combined with the finest scholarly attainment.

The first of these two volumes is a new and enlarged edition of the familiar and delightful "Sir Roger de Coverley and Other Literary Pieces," a work which had caused its author some embarrassment because readers were beginning to accept the imaginary sketches there presented as genuine Addisonian material, and one appeal had actually been received at the British Museum for aid in tracing the sources of so unexpected an addition to our knowledge of the Spectator Club. The phantasy which opens the volume in its present form, and gives it its name, was written many years ago as a recreation after "the somewhat tedious task of translating Pausanias into English"; it is a bold attempt to tell afresh one of the strangest tales in the repertory of ancient Greece, and the enterprise which in other hands might have proved disastrous has been carried to a safe conclusion by the skill and tact of the narrator, a worthy counterpart to the prowess of the youthful Perseus himself.

As for the pages on Sir Roger de Coverley, with their delicate aroma of beauty, I cannot trust myself to speak, but can only transcribe the concluding lines of "Sir Roger in the Temple": "I stood bareheaded, watching him till he disappeared in the shadows. I never saw him again. It was my last parting with Sir Roger. But I humbly trust that we may meet again in a world beyond the shadows, where roses never fade and friends shall part no more."

A large part of the volume is concerned with wider interests. Classical scholars, however, will be attracted by "Roman Life in the time of Pliny the Younger," a descriptive essay which might be read with profit as well as pleasure by all students of the period; and readers of the Bible will be grateful for the exquisite appreciation of that noble literature in "Life's Fitful Fever" and "Beyond the Shadows."

The nature of "Garnered Sheaves" is indicated by the title; most of the pieces are reprinted from classical and other journals; but the following excerpts from the table of contents

will suggest the value of these "sheaves" for the classical harvest: The Prytaneum, the Temple of Vesta, the Vestals, Perpetual Fires; Early Italic Huts; Ares in the Brazen Pot; Βουλυτός, the Loosing of the Ox; the Bedstead of the Flamen Dialis; the Youth of Achilles; the Leafy Bust at Nemi; address at the Jubilee of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies; a History of Greek Religion.

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Alexander der Grosse. Von ULRICH WILCKEN. (Das Wissenschaftliche Weltbild, herausgegeben von P. Hinneberg.) Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1931. Pp. ix, 316; 1 map. M. 12.80.

This is, I think, the best biography of Alexander to date. Wilcken gives us an amazingly complete and accurate picture of Alexander, the chief virtue of which is, perhaps, his adherence to the sources. This is particularly welcome, since many biographers in the past have insisted overmuch on their own interpretations.

In a book with such a wealth of information it is not surprising that four chapters should be devoted to the setting. A sketch of fourth-century conditions is followed by an excellent portrayal of Macedonia and its relations to Greece, in which Isocrates and his policy are nicely defined. The next two chapters deal with the youth of Alexander and the early years of his reign.

The kernel of the book, chapters V-VIII, is of course a study of Alexander's Asiatic expedition. Wilcken succeeds admirably in keeping the full picture before us. As the story of the campaign unfolds, we are frequently informed of the situation in Greece; beside the strategy, tactics and numbers of troops is placed the purpose of Alexander, limited in range at first, but rapidly expanding into one of world conquest and, more important, of world organization, with ramifications which only a few of his companions could comprehend. Again, while Wilcken is careful to note the organization of the satrapies and the financial arrangements, we are reminded of the comparative value of the sources and of Alexander's ambition that the expedition should make large contributions to science.

Alexander aimed, as few have done, at real world conquest. Not only the entire East (for undoubtedly he regarded the halt at the Hyphasis as only temporary) but also the West (if the *hypomnemata* are genuine) was to be incorporated in this empire, and constant exploration was to be carried on until the whole inhabited world was brought within it. The empire was

to be knit together by trading stations and safe lanes of communication. The civilization was to be Hellenic, but since the Macedonians were not numerous enough to defend the empire, Alexander conceived the idea of a fusion of Macedonians and Iranians. The unity of this world empire, as Wilcken brings out so well, rested on Alexander's personality. Alexander did not develop from king of Macedonia into *hegemon* of the Corinthian League, becoming the Great King of Persia and finally a world ruler. Rather, he was at the end all of these. The Asiatic empire was not incorporated in the Macedonian kingdom, but, like the Corinthian League, was an annex joined by personal union to Macedonia.

The mystic strain in Alexander, his great confidence in himself, combined with the new plans he was weaving, probably were the cause, so Wilcken thinks, of the tragedies which overtook Alexander in Asia. In any case, Wilcken has performed a service in showing that the execution of Philotas, if a judicial murder, was not the fault of Alexander but of the assembly of the Macedonian army that tried him, according to custom. The execution of Parmenio that followed was necessary to prevent possible rebellion in his rear. And the death of Cleitus was due to the sudden eruption of human passions, which had long been fed by the growing opposition of the Macedonians to Alexander's new ideas.

In discussing the character of Alexander, Wilcken has done well to show that Alexander regarded the salutation of Ammon as a recognition of the divine power working in him, that his apotheosis by the Greeks was purely religious and not political, and that his introduction of proscynesis was not an attempt to force recognition of himself as a god but rather to express the equal position of the Persians with the Macedonians and Greeks.

A few observations on important points remain. The fundamental differences and difficulties existing between Macedonians and Greeks are so clearly expressed by Wilcken that it is a pity he does not show more precisely that Alexander's real reason in sparing Pindar's house was an attempt to persuade the Greeks to accept him as one of them. Similarly his actions at Troy were performed primarily with an eye to their effect on Greece. His delay at Tarsus did entice Darius finally into Cilicia, but was it not part of a plan? Was not his illness short and used as a pretext for further delay? Alexander had no pious desire to sacrifice in the old temple of Heracles in the island-city of Tyre. What he wanted was possession of this important stronghold, and he was trying his best to get in without a struggle. The palace at Persepolis was burned, not to signify that the campaign of vengeance was over, but that the dynasty of the Achaemenids had ended. Alexander married Roxane for political reasons, not because he was passionately in love with her.

For the one serious chronological problem in the entire campaign Wilcken follows Tarn (whose admirable study in volume VI of the *Cambridge Ancient History* is now familiar to all). By placing the death of Darius in July 330 (where it must be placed, if we accept a single, incidental statement in Plutarch that Alexander remained four months in Persis), Wilcken is unable to get Alexander to the Hindu Kush in time for winter quarters that year, as Arrian and Strabo say he did. The solution, briefly, is to shorten the stay in Persis in order that our important source, Arrian, may be accepted. The incidents with the Amazons and Malli contain important problems for the sources, but Wilcken does not face them. Finally, his statement that the Ephemerides for the last days of Alexander were written later, in order to refute officially the story that Alexander had been poisoned, is surprising. The Ephemerides, our primary source for the campaigns of Alexander, were written regularly from the beginning of the expedition to the end. The explicit quotations from them may all be referred to the end of the expedition, it is true, but this is due to the accidental destruction in India of the Ephemerides for the first years.

The last two chapters of this scholarly and interesting book give an appreciation of Alexander's work and its effects.

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Musik und Gesang in den Kulturen der heidnischen Antike und christlichen Frühzeit. (Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen, Heft 25.) By JOHANNES QUASTEN. Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1930. Pp. xii, 274; 38 plates. M. 19.

A portion (52 pp.) of this work was printed in 1927, and accepted as an inaugural dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Theology by the Faculty of Catholic Theology at Münster. A grant of aid from the "Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft" made possible further research, especially on the archaeological side, leading finally to the publication of this substantial work. The first three parts (pp. 1-77) deal with music in heathen sacrificial cult and mystery religions, and with the discussion of the matter by philosophers. Parts IV and V (pp. 78-194) describe the use of music and song in Christian liturgy and Christian private life; Part VI (pp. 195-247) their use in the heathen and Christian cult of the dead. Pagan writings, Christian writings, and the monuments contribute in equal profusion to present a complete portrayal of the subject. A considerable part of the archaeological material referred to is

published in the thirty-eight plates of the appendix, which adds substantially to the attractiveness and value of a beautifully printed book.

Throughout Quasten's work it is regularly assumed that the cults of Egypt and Mesopotamia, Greece and Rome, from the earliest times to the latest, may be taken together to afford a generalization as to "heathen antiquity." The resulting difficulties are generally ignored. For example, in the cult of the dead he finds music both excluded and admitted, mournful and cheerful, used to drive away ghosts and to summon them (pp. 43 f., 195-216). The general confusion is not surprising, seeing that the references reach from the cuneiform records to Martianus Capella.

As an example of Quasten's loose handling of scanty evidence, one may notice his view that offerings to the dead were without music (pp. 43 f.). He argues that since there was a similarity between the cult of the chthonic deities and that of the dead, and the former was without music, so one should expect the latter to be. Thus, he says, the omission of music in a sacrifice made by Minos after his son's death, and in one made by Tiberius after the death of Augustus, show that the offerings were made, not to the gods, but to the *manes* of the deceased. But the sources show (1) that these were regular sacrifices made to deities, by Minos to the Graces, and by Tiberius to the deity in whose temple the Senate was meeting (Apollod. iii, 15, 8; Suet. *Aug.* 35, *Tib.* 70); and (2) that the music was omitted by Minos because of his grief, and by Tiberius to follow the curious example of Minos in his own mourning for Augustus (Plut. *Mor.* 132 F; Suet. *Tib.* 70). Equally beside the point are the two passages cited to show that libations to the dead were without music. The *ἀλυποι ἔλεγχοι* of Euripides (*Iph. Taur.* 146) are not associated with libations to the dead, and might well be accompanied by the flute, while the *παῖάν* of Aeschylus (*Choephoroi* 151) would admit of any sort of instrumental accompaniment.

On page 4 one is surprised to find the exclamation *ἰώ*, in a hymn to Zeus, mistaken for an invocation of Io.

While apotropaic power is claimed for ritual music generally (pp. 37-42), the evidence cited associates it principally with percussion instruments, whose metallic clash and clang might well serve to frighten devils away. Quasten is wrong in citing Cumont (p. 38, n. 9) for an apotropaic use of the flute in the cult of Mithras.

As to the bells and cymbals which drive away evil spirits in the Saturnalia and Lupercalia (p. 37), no references are given, and the reviewer is compelled to plead ignorance.

The use of an instrument did not necessarily involve polyphony (p. 92 f.), for it might be played in unison with the

voice (cf. Reinach, *La musique grecque*, 70). Nor do the writers cited by Quasten clearly set the unison song of the Christians in contrast with polyphony (ἑτεροφωνία), or with the use of instruments. The contrast of unison chant and polyphonic music is modern, and it is probably an anachronism to read it into the writings of the Fathers.

Quasten's work is interesting, in that it focuses attention upon an aspect of ancient cult which generally receives slight notice. A multitude of questions is suggested, which deserve further study. Quasten was doubtless led to the subject by his interest in Christian liturgy, so that one may well be more impressed by his industry in collecting the mass of material which relates to "heathen antiquity," than by the sometimes hasty and superficial way in which he treats that material. The book is well indexed, and should be a useful reference work, alike to the student of pagan ritual, of Christian liturgy, and of the history of music.

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HANS DILLER, *Die Überlieferung der Hippokratischen Schrift ΠΕΡΙ ΑΕΡΩΝ ΥΔΑΤΩΝ ΤΟΠΩΝ*. Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1932. (Philologus, Supplementband XXIII, Heft III.)

Among all the books of the Hippocratean Corpus, no book has received of late greater attention from scholars than the book on *Airs, Waters and Places*. In 1931, Dr. Ludwig Edelstein published an interesting study on this book and on other questions connected with the Corpus. Dr. Edelstein, who is a philologist and a former pupil of Professor Regenbogen in Heidelberg, is at present an assistant of Professor Diepgen, the newly appointed professor of the History of Medicine at the University of Berlin. Dr. Edelstein's study is of importance in connection with the work of Dr. Hans Diller, whose study of the manuscript tradition of the book is the subject of this review. Dr. Edelstein breaks completely with the old traditions that assign to Hippocrates at least a few books in the Corpus. He accepts, therefore, the statement of von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf that "Hippocrates is a name without writings". Von Wilamowitz himself was especially interested in the book on *Airs, Waters and Places* and included parts of it in his "Griechisches Lesebuch" (second edition, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1902, volume 1, pages 199-207). He considered it to be the work of a medical geographer who lived during the time of Pericles.

Dr. Hans Diller's study of the manuscript tradition of the book on *Airs, Waters and Places*, is a valuable addition to our knowledge of the text. Dr. Diller, who is a pupil of Professor Klinger, former Professor of Latin at the University of Hamburg, followed his teacher to Leipzig, and has worked in the Institute of Medical History at Leipzig under the personal direction of Professor Henry E. Sigerist, who has accepted the Chair of Medical History at the Johns Hopkins University. Both Edelstein and Diller, therefore, are trained philologists who have done valuable work in the field of medical history. The manuscripts of the book on *Airs, Waters and Places* are comparatively few. (*Die Handschriften der Antiken Ärzte. I. Teil. Hippokrates und Galenos. Herausgegeben von H. Diels. Berlin 1905. Verlag der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, page 4, section 6.*) The most important manuscript is Vaticanus 276 of the twelfth century, together with B, a fifteenth century manuscript in Rome, listed by Diels as Barberinus I 5. In addition to these two manuscripts there are readings from a lost codex called "b" by Kühlewein, given in the manuscript notes of a Venetian physician Gadaldinus (1515-1575) which were originally written on the margins of copies of the Aldine and the Basle editions of Hippocrates. Friederich Dietz discovered the original manuscript notes on the margins of the two copies already mentioned which were in the Ambrosian Library and which, until the time of this discovery, had been known only through an imperfect printing of them on the margins of the Latin translation of the book on *Airs, Waters and Places* in the Latin edition of Hippocrates by Cornarius (Froben, Basel, 1546). Besides these two manuscripts and these notes of Gadaldinus from the lost codex, there are two later Paris manuscripts, 2255 of the fifteenth century and 2146 of the sixteenth, as well as a Latin translation of the book (Parisinus 7027), which is occasionally helpful in difficult passages.

Dr. Diller begins the study with a very useful review of our knowledge of the manuscript tradition since the time of Littré. The rest of the study is divided into four chapters. The first discusses the Greek manuscripts already mentioned and the notes of Gadaldinus based on the lost manuscript that Kühlewein in his Teubner edition of Hippocrates calls "b". The next chapter deals with the older Latin translations which are preserved in the Paris manuscript 7027 already mentioned and in the Ambrosianus G 108, this later manuscript being incomplete. The following chapter discusses the later Latin translations from the fourteenth century onward, which are preserved in ten manuscripts, scattered through various libraries of Europe (Diller, *o. c.*, page 57). Dr. Diller also prints, in its entirety, the Latin translation of Avicenna and then discusses the Greek text that

is given in Galen's commentary on the book *Airs, Waters and Places*. The last chapter deals with the secondary tradition and traces similarities of language between the Hippocratic book and a fragment of Euripides quoted by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vi, 2, 22) and a passage from Aristotle (*Politics*, 1327 b 16 ff.). Finally, Diller discusses the quotations from the Hippocratic book in Ruphus of Ephesus and Oreibasios.

The scope of this review prevents me from citing examples of difficult readings that have been illuminated by Dr. Diller's collation of the manuscripts. Diller feels that Dietz tended to over-emphasize the value of the readings from the lost manuscript "b". Unless one knows "*Airs, Waters and Places*" almost by heart, it is difficult to follow some of Diller's references to the Greek text as he does not cite the passages from the text of either Littré or Kühlewein but apparently from a Greek text edited by G. Gundermann in 1911 (No. 77, Lietzmanns *Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen*, cf. Diller, *o. c.*, p. 5). So far as I have been able to discover, no very startling changes in the accepted text have been found.

The fact that modern Hippocratic scholars have finally given up all attempts to discover in the *Corpus* books that might be attributed to the historical Hippocrates, will not be without influence on other questions of classical philology. The critics who have believed that certain books of the *Corpus*, including the book on *Airs, Waters and Places*, were authentic productions of the physician Hippocrates, deduced from this book the fact that the writer must have spent a great deal of his time among the Scythians and in Thrace. On the basis of this assumption, scholars who studied the Greek style of the books associated with the name of Hippocrates tended to explain many of the difficult Greek constructions by assuming that the author was writing Thracian or barbarian Greek or at least that his Greek style had been contaminated by constant living in the north. This view together with all its implications will have to be given up when the conclusions of such scholars as Edelstein are accepted and Hippocratic critics are willing to admit once and for all that Hippocrates is indeed "a name without writings".

JOHN RATHBONE OLIVER.

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The Priapea and Ovid: A Study of the Language of the Poems.

By RICHARD FREDERICK THOMASON, PH. D. Nashville,
Tenn.: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1931. Pp.
v + 100.

The present dissertation deals with the Priapea, an Augustan collection of eighty-one elegant and witty, but jocose and licentious poems, written in honor of Priapus, which have come down to us in the manuscripts under the name of Vergil. The collection is named among the Vergilian *opuscula* by both Donatus, Servius and the Murbach catalogue; it therefore necessarily found a place in nearly all the early editions of Vergil, beginning with the *princeps* of 1469. It seems also to have been accepted by the younger Pliny as Vergilian, since he speaks (*Ep.* v, 3, 2 ff.) of Vergil as "preeminently a writer of unchaste verses". Scaliger (1573) protested vehemently against assigning so extensive a collection of ribald poems to the saintly Vergil, and since his time the Priapea has been omitted from editions of the Appendix and has appeared only in anthologies. Even before Scaliger many of the Christian copyists of the Middle Ages had shown a similar repugnance and had omitted the collection from the *Libellus* (the principal part of the Appendix), so that one or two manuscripts, such as Laurent. 33, 31, even give a corrected title *Diversorum auctorum Priapeia*. Hence even today nothing is more common among critics than to speak of the editor who 'copied off' and 'collected' the verses written by many aristocratic dilettanti upon the walls of the shrines of Priapus. The actual language of the second preface (2, 9 ff.) is, however, something quite different: 'I beg you, Priapus, to excuse these casual verses that in my idle moments I have scribbled (*notavi*) upon the walls of your temple'. In view of this explicit statement and in view also of the refined and exquisite metrical technique of all the poems, it is evident that they proceed from a single author who uses the custom of writing indecorous verses upon temple walls only as an excuse for his own licentious volume. Dr. Thomason further shows in his admirable introduction (p. 6) that the great Priapea is the only collection of this kind ascribed by the ancients to Vergil, and that there is not the least manuscript authority for giving this title to the three short poems of Priapus which stand at the head of the Catalepton roll.

The question arises who is the author of our witty and ingenious volume, which professes to be written for the garden of the scarecrow-god Priapus, but which shows in fact the most extensive acquaintance with Greek literature and mythology, and cites also technical Greek hand-books of the erotic art (4, 2; 63, 17). The elder Seneca gives us an answer in *Contr.* i, 2,

22 in a passage in which the brilliant and dissolute Mamercus Scaurus quotes *Ovidianum illud*, '*inepta loci*', the reference being to *Priap.* 3, 7 f. Seneca's attestation of Ovidian authorship naturally applies to the whole book, just as it would not be necessary to attest each single poem in Book I of Horace's Odes. [Professor E. K. Rand is therefore mistaken when he states (*Ovid*, p. 6) that we have not "the slightest scrap of positive evidence" touching youthful poems of Ovid. De Mirmont (*Jeunesse d'Ovide*, p. 115) is more correct when he writes that "the declaimers even knew and quoted poems of Ovid which are not found today in the collection of his complete works."]

Dr. Thomason cites (pp. 9, 52, 56) many excellent modern critics, such as Scaliger, Burman, Wernicke, Buecheler, Baehrens and Teuffel-Kroll, who have recognized Ovid as the author of very many of these poems. The most satisfactory testimony, however, is that of Poliziano, the famous humanist of the fifteenth century, who attributed the whole of the *Priapea* to Ovid: "*Quae Priapeia vocantur epigrammata . . . esse nec Virgilii, sed Ovidii deprehendo. Sed et stylus (ni fallor) et prorsum Ovidiana quaequam in iis versibus germana lascivia.*" Poliziano's judgment is fully confirmed by the extremely detailed, painstaking and careful study of the language which Dr. Thomason has made in his admirable monograph. Thus in the 196 elegiac lines of the *Priapea* there are 221 phrases (p. 23) which are found only in Ovid among all the poets of the Golden Age. This is an average of more than one and one-eighth such exclusively Ovidian phrase to each line. Furthermore, forty-seven of the phrases occur at least twice in Ovid, while twenty-five of them occur at least four times. [Similarly in the thirty-eight verses of *Copa* there are sixty-five exclusively Ovidian phrases and collocations of words. In the 414 verses of *Culex* there are more than 400 such Ovidian phrases. Also 100 verses of three *Lygdamus* elegies. (i, iii and v) show 104 Ovidian phrases not found elsewhere in our poets (*Class. Phil.* XXII 366 f.). This average of one exclusively Ovidian phrase to each verse is maintained in all the poems of the two Appendixes.] Again in the ninety-eight iambic and hendecasyllabic verses which are treated by Thomason there are seventy-four exclusively Ovidian phrases. This is an average of three such phrases to every four of these short lines. The *Priapea* shows also ten words (*blaesus*, *Apollineus*, etc.) which were first introduced by Ovid (p. 12); four of these occur in exclusively Ovidian phrases. [I have noted only one serious error. It is stated (p. 13) on the authority of Linse that *Phidiacus* is an Ovidian coinage. This is incorrect, for the word occurs earlier in *Prop.* iii, 9, 15.] An excellent feature of the study relates to the use of legal language by the poet (p. 20), who was both police commissioner and president of the centumviral court.

The close relation existing between *Copa* and *Priap.* 27 is also well shown, the same seductive castanet dancer appearing in both poems.

In the *Priapea*, as in the *Lygdamus* elegies, the pentameters almost always have a dissyllabic close (p. 86). In the whole distich the percentage of dactyls is 49.5%, which is a little below that of *Her.* 20 and 21. Ovid will eventually reach 57% in the distich, but in the slow and stately language of *Latium* he will never quite equal the Greek elegiac (61%), and he will always fall far short of the rapidity of the Homeric hexameter (68%)! In respect to the caesura the mature Ovid completed the work begun by Catullus and the neoterics (Norden, *Aen.* vi. p. 419). Although Virgil allows an exceptional caesura once in 24 1/22 verses (Havet, *Métr.*, pp. 46 ff.), Ovid rejects this compromise and practically reduces his caesuras to the two best only—the penthemimeral and the hephthemimeral accompanied by both the triemimeral and the feminine caesura. This great artistic advance is clearly seen both in the *Priapea* and the *Maecenas* (p. 92). For in 187 hexameters these two works carefully avoid the eight rarer caesuras which Vergil would have allowed, and they are therefore the first poems composed in the Latin language (12-8 B. C.) in which the exquisite Ovidian refinements respecting the caesura are perfectly observed.

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CORRECTION.

Professor W. B. Dinsmoor has called my attention to the fact that in the restoration of IG² I. 255a (A. J. P. LIII 275) *συνάρχουσι* should be read in line 329 instead of *χσυνάρχουσι*, as the second *lambda* of *Καλλίο* (line 329) falls under the second *alpha* of *ταμίαις* in line 328. Lines 329-331 should therefore be restored as follows:

329 [ν καὶ συνάρχουσι τοῖς ἐπὶ Κ]αλλίο ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς β[ολῆς hē-]

330 [ι.....ἐ]γραμμάτευεν □ ἐκ τοῦ Πρόνε[ο....]

331 [στέφανος χρυσῶς : | : σταθμὸν]ὸν τοῦτο : ΔΔΔ | | | | |.

In line 330 there is a space of 19 letters for the name of the secretary, and a space of four letters at the end which was probably left blank. The entries began in line 331. Between *χρυσῶς* and *σταθμὸν* there is a space of two letters for the numeral. The marks of punctuation which are usually found at either side of the numeral may have been crowded into this space, or else they were omitted as is the case occasionally.

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